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THE CONGREGATIONAL LECTURE,  
FIFTEENTH SERIES.

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ON THE SACRAMENTS.

BY THE REV. R. HALLEY, D.D.

LONDON :  
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THE SACRAMENTS.

AN INQUIRY

INTO THE NATURE OF

THE SYMBOLIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE  
CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

USUALLY CALLED

THE SACRAMENTS.

✓  
BY ROBERT HALLEY, D.D.

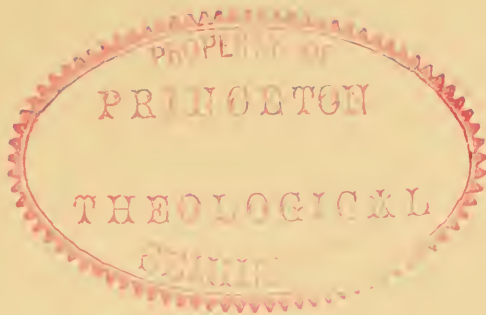
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# THE SACRAMENTS.

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## LECTURE VII.

### THE SUBJECTS OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—*Matthew* xxviii. 19.

ENTERING upon the important inquiry respecting the proper subjects of Christian baptism, I have to solicit your attention to one or two introductory remarks, which may enable us to conduct the argument somewhat more clearly and directly to its conclusion, than we could do if we had to suffer interruption by continually adverting to them in the course of the reasoning.

1. The precise point of inquiry being suggested by the terms of our Lord's commission, we cannot too constantly or carefully keep them in view. Go ye therefore, and teach, or disciple, all the nations, baptizing *them* into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The question respecting the subjects of baptism is here resolved into one of grammar and criticism. It is simply, what is the antecedent to the word *them*, or for what noun is that pronoun substituted? Going forth, disciple all the nations (*πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*) baptizing *them* (*αὐτοὺς*)—all the nations, into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and

of the Holy Ghost; teaching them, all the nations, to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. So far as the grammatical construction is concerned, the meaning of the terms is precisely the same as it would be if the words of the commission were, *baptize all the nations*. Adhering, therefore, to the grammar of the words, we say the commission, which no man has a right to alter, is—baptize all the nations.\*

2. Our Baptist friends frequently insist upon the propriety of adhering closely to the letter of Scripture instead of pursuing inferential or analogical reasonings; and we assure them that we are quite disposed in examining the only direct commission we have for baptizing at all, not only to accept their terms, but also to enforce them. How, unless by the aid of a little inferential or analogical reasoning, of the logic of which we now say nothing, do they so limit the injunction, baptize all the nations, as to comprise a very small part of them; only so many, or rather so few, as are thought to be cordial believers in the Gospel of Christ? Without severely reprobating the process which they employ, I only suggest that there must be a little, gentle, quiet distillation in the alembic of inference or analogy, before they extract believers' baptism, as the spirit, from the letter of the general command to baptize all the nations; and the process, we may intimate, must be a little more curious and refined than such reasonings usually are, as not a word about believers is to be found in the whole commission. As to some of our more zealous and ardent Baptist friends, who have recently exclaimed against reasoning at all upon the sub-

\* I suppose no one will object that αὐτοὺς being masculine does not refer to πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, being neuter; as this would betray gross ignorance of the common rule of Greek syntax, known by every school-boy, respecting the reference of pronouns to neuter nouns.

Tertullian renders the passage: *Itē et docete nationes tingendas in Patrem et in Filium et in Spiritum Sanctum. De Præscriptione Hæreticorum. Cap. 20.*



ject, seeing, as they tell us, we ought to accept the plain letter of the law in the New Testament; let me reply that, although they so devoutly eschew all reasonings upon the letter of Scripture, that plain letter without any reasoning is directly against them, seeing it commands us to baptize all the nations—not the believers only, not the adults only—and as soon as they begin to limit the phrase they begin to reason upon the letter of Scripture; unless, indeed, they are so consistent as to construct this limitation without any reason at all. I am, however, far from intimating that our Baptist brethren generally have joined in this clamour against reasoning on Scripture premises.

3. In interpreting this commission, we ought to impose no restriction upon the general terms of what may be called the great law of Christian baptism, unless there be obvious and undeniable reasons for so doing. Such a commission we should expect to be clear, distinct, and express, saying neither more nor less than is intended. It will be found, I apprehend, that Pædo-baptists adhere more scrupulously to the letter of this commission than their Baptist brethren, inasmuch as in their wider range of interpretation they approach nearer the latitude of the general phrase, “all the nations.” Should it be said, that it is impossible to obey the command without some limitation, because great multitudes will not submit to Christian baptism, the reply is obvious, as the command certainly enjoins no more than we are able to perform. We are commanded to teach all the nations; but if classes or nations will not, or cannot, be taught, with them of course our obligation ceases. If we limit the command to certain classes, and exclude others who can be taught, we ought surely to produce some good and sufficient authority for such a limitation. When Christ says, Teach all the nations, what right have I to exclude any who can be taught? and when he says, Baptize all the nations, what

right have I to exclude any who can be baptized? There may be grave considerations to sustain the exclusion, but they must be so clearly and expressly stated in Scripture as to warrant a limitation, if it be not an amendment, of the original commission. When Israel was commanded to expel all the Canaanites from the land, they obeyed the command, although they could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley because they had chariots of iron; but they did not obey it when they made a league with the artful Gibeonites. That we cannot baptize some, is no reason for our exclusion of others. As to the limitation of the word baptize to those who are taught, we have, according to the letter of this commission, no more right to limit the command to baptize to those who are taught, than we have to limit the command to teach to those who are baptized. If it be said, infants cannot be baptized, we ask, why can they not? This is asking our opponents, not to prove a negative, but to show the reason for an exception to the letter of the law. When a subject pleads that he cannot obey the letter of the law, the burden of the proof must fall upon himself. If baptism be, as our friends assert, immersion, surely infants can be immersed. According to them, the command is to dip, and there is no insuperable difficulty in dipping an infant. Infants, indeed, whose parents will not present them for the purpose, cannot be baptized, and so they are excepted on the same ground as their parents; but the infants of Christian parents and the infants of parents willing that their children shall be taught in Christian schools, and foundlings and orphans under Christian care, can be baptized, and are just as much included *in the letter* of this commission as any other persons whatsoever. We do not say that this commission can have no limitation, but the limitation, if there be any, must be proved by direct, or inferential, or analogical reasoning, or by reasoning of some kind or other. Let reasons be adduced, and we will examine them; but the

literal sense without reasoning is certainly not with those who confine baptism to believers. Nor is it by an ambiguous expression, a doubtful and difficult text, that the literal sense of so plain a commission is to be extruded. The restriction must be at least quite as express and incontrovertible as the command, the sense of which is to be affected by it.

4. This commission being the chief authority for the continued practice of baptism in the Christian church, its literal signification ought to be preferred to that of the incidental and casual mention of baptism in other places, should there be any apparent discrepancy. I do not know any such discrepancy, but if it should be found, we ought not hastily to conclude that the commission is to be explained by the allusion, but rather to maintain that the allusion is to be interpreted by the commission. Let it be observed, that there is in the New Testament no express command addressed to any living man or woman to be baptized, and no other command than that which is implied in this address to the apostles to administer baptism to any person whatsoever. Were this one text obliterated from Scripture, we should have no direct authority for the administration of baptism.

From these observations it will be understood, that our argument through this discussion is founded on the literal interpretation of this commission. We feel bound by its terms to maintain that it is the duty of the Christian church both to baptize and to teach, to the utmost extent within its power, "all the nations," unless we find in other parts of Scripture some restriction, imposed in terms as plain as are those of the command. Whatever may be thought of the soundness of this basis of our argument, no one can say that it is founded upon inferences or vague analogies. We will endeavour to raise the superstructure, looking severely and suspiciously upon inferential reasoning, though we will not absolutely reject it, nor say, as we

might do after the example given us, as infants are certainly included in the term, "all the nations," we have precisely the same command to baptize them as we have to baptize adults, and so there is an end of all argumentation. If inferential, or analogical, or any kind of honest reasoning, can affect this construction of the great command, let it be fairly tried ; but let not those who construct an apparatus of inferences and analogies, of premises and conclusions, to prove that "all the nations" mean only a few adults, assert that the literal sense of Scripture is exclusively with them, and that we alone are compelled to resort to ingenious argumentation—to cast up an embankment of earthly reasonings against the force of their plain, scriptural, and Divine commands.

Let it, therefore, be understood that, in our opinion, the great argument for the baptism of infants is the plain grammar of the only commission which we have received to baptize at all. If there are any restrictions to this commission, let them be produced, and let the limitation of the word "them," in the phrase "baptizing them," deriving its breadth of meaning from the antecedent "all the nations," be fairly considered. To any part of the commission, the discipling, the baptizing, or the teaching, I know only one limitation, and that is, the want of ability to execute it. Until some restriction be produced from the New Testament, I maintain, on the terms of the only command to baptize, that to baptize an infant is just as much the duty of the church, and a duty resting upon just the same authority, as to teach a Hindoo. Infants are, unless cause to the contrary can be shown, just as much included in the baptism as Hindoos are in the teaching. Every argument against infant baptism is an argument to limit the commission, and therefore by comparison with the words of the commission it must be tested and its value determined.

Limitations of this commission may be founded either upon preconceived opinions of the fitness or the capacity of the parties to receive baptism, or upon passages of



Scripture supposed to be applicable to the subject. The former do not deserve a hearing. We have no right whatever, without the authority of Scripture, to decide who ought or who ought not to be baptized. To say that infants cannot understand the thing signified in baptism, and therefore ought not to be baptized, is an assertion which may be placed in the same position as the counter-assertion, that the infants in Israel ought not to have been circumcised because they did not understand the thing signified by circumcision. The instance shows that in emblematical ordinances it may be in certain circumstances proper that the parties should not understand the thing signified. Whether, as under the Abrahamic dispensation so under the Christian, those circumstances apply to infants, is neither to be assumed nor to be denied. The washing with water in itself can confer no spiritual benefit upon any one, infant or adult. Whether, as an emblematical service, it is or is not to be administered to infants, is an inquiry which no man has a right to answer, unless God be with him. Preconceived opinions, therefore, must not be allowed to limit, nor in any way to affect, the words of the commission. Limitations, professing to rest upon other Scriptures, we are willing seriously to consider; and if we are right in interpreting the commission, we have to consider no other limitations whatever.

Those who practise Christian baptism may be distributed into three classes, who interpret this commission with less or more latitude, with less or more adherence to its literality, according to the extent of their practice. There are, first, those who baptize only such as they believe to be truly pious and devout persons, or, according to the usual phrase, only such as make a credible profession of their faith in Christ. These impose the greatest restriction upon the command, find the largest exceptions to the rule, and consequently travel farthest from the letter of the term "all the nations." Their reasons we are ready to consider, but



the burden of proof belongs to them. There are, secondly, those who baptize such supposed believers and their families. These occupy an intermediate position. There are, lastly, those who baptize all applicants whatsoever, provided the application does not appear to be made scoffingly and profanely, for that would be a manifest desecration of the service, and all children offered by their parents, guardians, or others who may have the care of them. These interpret the commission in its widest sense, and most literally explain "all the nations." There is a modification of the last theory which, as it is suggested by the commission itself, may probably be considered as imposing no restriction upon it. As we are commanded both to baptize and to teach all nations, the two terms are by some considered as directing us to baptize all whom there is reasonable probability of teaching, and of teaching all who are so baptized. Practically, however, those who baptize indiscriminately all applicants and their children, and those who reckon upon the prospect of teaching the baptized, will be found so seldom at variance, (for scarcely ever is any one proposed whose religious instruction might not be secured by proper care,) that there is no necessity of rendering the argument more complicated by considering them as two distinct classes.

The several principles variously modified of the three classes may, I think, be thus expressed. The first class maintain that baptism is exclusively the privilege of true believers; the second, that by virtue of a covenant relation between parents and children, it belongs also to the children of believers; the third, that as no restriction is imposed upon baptism in the New Testament, none ought to be imposed by the ministers of the Gospel. To the law and to the testimony is the appeal. We abide by the literality of the commission. There is the beginning and ought to be the end of our argument, unless restrictions be produced. We ask for plain statements of the exceptions.

If these be wanting, we will listen cautiously and suspiciously to inferences, intimations, facts, and analogies, using all the legitimate assistance we can obtain in examining and illustrating them; but these exceptions it is the duty of those to find who do not baptize "all the nations."

I know not whether it will be worth the while to notice a remark which I have occasionally heard, respecting the discrepancy of opinion among Pædo-baptists themselves. Our Baptist friends have occasionally said to us, You differ in the theory of infant baptism, although you contrive to agree in the practice; you reach a common conclusion by two different courses of reasoning. Be it so. Be it that the practice of infant baptism is conscientiously defended by persons who differ among themselves as to the extent of that practice, or as to the reasons upon which it is founded. It would seem such a fact, if it were allowed to have any force at all, ought to be regarded as favourable, rather than unfavourable, to the practice. What presumption can there be against a conclusion, because parties arrive at it who disagree in their premises, or in their modes of reasoning? How would a Baptist reply to a Quaker, who might accost him, "Friend, thou art wrong about baptism, for some people immerse and others sprinkle; some confine the ceremony to adults, and others extend it to children; and yet they all profess to believe the perpetuity of the rite?" The reply, *mutatis mutandis*, is our answer to the objector. The only inconvenience I can imagine is, that it may impose a little additional trouble upon the Baptists; for if they happily succeed in subverting one course of reasoning, the other remains to resist their attack; and I must do them the justice to say they do not regard trouble in this controversy.

Another remark seems needful to elucidate the position of the two classes of Pædo-baptists, in so far as they avail themselves of some arguments common to them both. However they may differ on the general reasoning, they

may without inconsistency agree in particular arguments. As an illustration, I may adduce the instances of the baptism of households mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. Without saying whether that argument often adduced in favour of infant baptism be worthy of attention or worthless, it is obvious that whatever value it may possess, if it possess any, may be fairly used by Pædo-baptists, whatever theory they may adopt respecting the reasons of infant baptism. Some may think that Paul baptized the household of Lydia because she had become a believer; others, because he then found the opportunity; but the argument, if it be of any value to one class, is equally so to the other, in sustaining the conclusion of both; and so is every argument in favour of infant baptism which does not involve the reason of its administration. A great deal which may be said in defence of the more unrestricted baptism of infants, is equally favourable to those who baptize only the children of believers; that is, it is favourable to the baptism of infants, without determining the extent to which it should be practised.

Having thus placed the argument on the commission of our Lord, I propose in this lecture, to examine the opinions of the three classes of persons to which I have adverted, and to inquire how far they fulfil that commission; reserving for brief notice, as I am painfully compelled by the length of the course, the subsidiary arguments in favour of infant baptism, which have no immediate reference to the commission, and which, for the most part, are common to both classes of Pædo-baptists.

Let us first compare the doctrine of the Anti-pædo-baptists with the commission of our Lord.

I am anxious correctly to state their doctrine, which is commonly called believers' baptism; but this term is not accurate, because their approved practice is not in accordance with the opinion that faith is essentially and indispensably necessary to baptism. My reason for this assertion

is, that if by any means they have baptized an unbeliever, who has mistaken his own character, or who has wilfully deceived them, should he be afterwards brought to penitence, they would not re-baptize him, on a second and more credible profession of faith. They would not, for instance, have re-baptized Simon Magus, had he listened to the advice of Peter, and become really and heartily a convert to Christianity. According to their practice, therefore, faith is not the indispensable qualification for baptism; nor is the mere profession of faith the qualification, for if they have sufficient reason to believe that the profession is hypocritically or ignorantly assumed, they refuse to baptize the applicant. The qualification, therefore, as I imagine, is such a profession of faith in Christ as is thought credible and satisfactory by the administrator. If any prefer to say, satisfactory to the church, I have only to ask them to consider the administrator as the official organ of the church in the administration.

As this baptism is not, so it ought not to be called, believers' baptism. If a person be baptized in infancy without any profession, and be again baptized in adult age, upon a false and wicked profession of faith, on his becoming a true Christian, the baptism on the false and wicked profession would be deemed valid, while that administered without any profession would be repudiated. In all such instances the baptism in infancy is deemed an idle ceremony, but baptism in unbelief is deemed sufficient; and therefore when I say the right to baptism is founded upon a profession satisfactory to the administrator, I mean that the right is not invalidated by any subsequent discovery of the insincerity of such a profession. To me the inference appears inevitable; the falsehood in making the profession supplies, in those instances, the only title to baptism which our opponents, *by their practice*, hold to be good and sufficient. Were I to make a profession of faith the title to baptism, I should feel compelled to maintain



that such a profession ought to be sincere, and that, consequently, wherever it was found to be false, the baptism was invalid—a mere idle, useless ceremony. If a man be received into church communion upon a profession of faith, and this profession be ascertained to be false, he is immediately disowned; if a man eat and drink unworthily bread and wine, not discerning the Lord's body, he does not eat the Lord's supper, but he eateth and drinketh damnation to himself. Faith is a pre-requisite, and therefore we maintain that no unbeliever has ever sacramentally commemorated the death of Christ. Do the Baptists maintain that no unbeliever, to adopt their own exposition of the rite, has ever been buried with Christ in baptism? If faith be as essential in baptism as it is in the Lord's supper, the baptism of an unbeliever is not Christian baptism, but a profane mockery of it, which ought not to be recognised, should the unbeliever be subsequently brought to repentance. The doctrine of the Baptists, as expounded by their practice, is that there is good and sufficient baptism without faith or penitence, or any other Christian disposition, provided only it be not administered in infancy, and be not administered by sprinkling. Yet, as expounded on the principle of believers' baptism, to baptize an unbeliever would seem to be as unavailing and useless as to crown a usurper. This difficulty affects vitally the principle of believers' baptism. On what principle, consistent with the reasonings of our Baptist brethren, upon such texts as "Whosoever believeth and is baptized;" "As many of us as are baptized have put on Christ;" and especially upon the necessity of the thing signified in receiving the sign, do they accredit the baptism in unbelief, and repudiate the baptism in infancy? As those passages are no more applicable to the hypocrite than to the infant, the reasoning of our friends would nullify many of the baptisms which they acknowledge. Should any one say, As with Romanists the marriage becomes sacramental



when the parties become Christian, so the baptism becomes Christian together with the parties, why may not the same popish principle be applied to infant baptism? I do not, however, say that any of our Baptist brethren make this assertion, and, therefore, I cannot understand the principle on which they accredit the baptism of unbelievers, should they be subsequently converted. Such are the difficulties, unless I misunderstand it, which arise out of the theory of the Baptists, as compared with their own practice.

But, passing over these difficulties without further remark, let us compare the doctrine of the Baptists with the commission of our Lord. On their hypothesis the commission is to be thus interpreted:—“Go into all the world, and teach all nations, baptizing so many of them as make a profession of faith satisfactory to the administrator, into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” We ask by what right or authority they insert this clause—affix this limit to the commission? So far as the words of our Lord are concerned, it is perfectly gratuitous. The commission itself requires no such profession, imposes no such restraint, suggests no such limitation, allows no such discrimination to the administrator. The baptizers are not constituted arbiters of the qualifications of the baptized. Instead of the literal interpretation a gloss is appended—an exception is found for the general rule. I do not say there can be no such gloss on the commission, no such exception to the rule, collected from other parts of Scripture; but to restrict the general terms of our Lord, it must be as clear and express as they are;—not a fanciful analogy, nor an obscure metaphor, nor a doubtful inference. But where else in Scripture is baptism expressly limited to believers? Where do we acquire the information which excludes from the rule all other classes than the one selected by our friends? Our assertion is, that there is no text of holy Scripture which requires faith, or any other Christian principle, as a necessary pre-requisite

for baptism—no passage which rejects any candidate on account of not possessing it. If we are correct in this assertion, *our Baptist friends limit the commission of our Lord, that is, alter its terms, without any scriptural authority whatsoever.* Let us examine their position, which is, not that faith is indispensable in baptism ; but, although faith be not indispensable, for some reason or other only believers ought to be baptized. As, however, they have ventured to alter the terms of the commission as they literally and grammatically appear in the sacred record, the least they can do is to tell us on what principle they have made the alteration. I will not believe they restrict our Lord's commission for a reason which they will not admit to be sufficient to invalidate their own baptisms, unless they will distinctly avow it.

When we say that, as the restriction is not in the commission, we must require express authority for its insertion, it is surely nothing to the purpose to tell us that many "believed and were baptized," because the question is not whether we ought to baptize believers, but whether we ought to baptize no other than believers. Good men were baptized by the apostles, and so were bad men. No argument can depend upon the one fact or the other, unless it can be shown on the one side that the apostles and their assistants baptized only such as they believed to be genuine converts ; or, on the other, that they baptized indiscriminately all applicants, leaving their characters to be formed and tested by subsequent events.

As little to the purpose is it to cite passages in which faith and baptism are supposed to be mentioned in the order in which they are to be observed. I should not have detained you with this remark, if I had not seen it adduced in this controversy by most respectable writers, who cite the passages, "Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved ;" "Repent and be baptized ;"—from which

words is ingeniously elicited a sort of argument that faith and repentance should precede baptism. But this ingenuity may be employed on the other side. "And now why tarriest thou?" said Ananias to Saul; "arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins." The argument, from the order of the words,—sound or unsound, let others determine,—is, that baptism should precede the washing away of sin.

When the commission to baptize all nations is limited by the assertion that only accredited believers are intended, that assertion may be maintained, either directly by adducing some specific declaration of Scripture to that effect, or indirectly by proving the exclusion of unbelievers from baptism; or, both these modes failing, then incidentally, by showing that the baptisms of the New Testament were administered, not indiscriminately, but upon the supposition that the parties baptized were true believers. We maintain there is no direct, nor indirect, nor incidental evidence in favour of limiting baptism to believers. If our Baptist friends will confine themselves to specific declarations of Scripture,—and the burden of proof falls upon them,—we believe they will be left without a solitary passage in support of their scheme.

As to the direct argument, a specific declaration of Scripture that only believers are to be baptized, if any passage containing such a declaration could be produced, the controversy would be terminated, and we should be bound immediately to surrender. That no such passage exists I conclude, because, if it did, our Baptist friends would have found it long before this time. As they adduce no passage directly asserting the truth of their doctrine, we inquire, have they a text which indirectly supports them by excluding from baptism unbelievers, or unconverted men, or, in short, any persons whatsoever? We ask them to produce it. To refuse baptism, or to delay it, is

to do that of which there is no example in Scripture, and therefore for doing it there ought to be at hand substantial scriptural reasons.

The passage most frequently adduced is from the Gospel of Mark, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."\* This text is sometimes cited as if it were an appendage to the baptismal commission, and spoken by our Lord in immediate continuation of the words recorded by Matthew. If it were so, it would be no restriction of the preceding clause, for it specifies not the persons to be baptized, but the persons to be saved. In answering the question, Who will be saved? by saying, "He that believeth and is baptized," we have the full and complete meaning of the passage. But this is no answer to the question, Who are to be baptized? The difficulty of the passage respecting the salvation of persons unbaptized, presses equally upon both parties. To me, however, it does seem strange that any persons who, on reading the words, "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," do not expound baptism as indispensable to salvation, should yet expound belief as indispensable to baptism. In the former instance they dare not say, in deference to the syntax, only the baptized can be saved; and yet in the latter they say, in deference to the mere arrangement of the words, only the believers can be baptized. Upon such precarious authority as the arrangement of words we can admit no restriction. I find many Baptist writers, as well as others, expound the washing in 1 Cor. vi. 11, as baptism. If that exposition be correct, does it prove that baptism should precede sanctification, or does the passage prove that sanctification precedes justification, "but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified"?

Although nothing important is conceded in admitting

\* Mark xvi. 15, 16.



that the words in Mark are supplemental to those in Matthew, I deny that they are to be so considered. The commission recorded by Matthew was given on a mountain in Galilee, the command mentioned in Mark was given "to the eleven as they sat at meat." We know not that on the latter occasion our Lord commanded them to baptize at all. Again, baptism in connexion with belief is here made in some sense or other a condition of salvation. With our theology, as we admit that unbaptized persons may be saved, is this language reconcilable upon any other principle than that baptism was conceded to all applicants? If the apostles commanded all persons indiscriminately to be baptized, the unbaptized haerers of the Gospel were contumacious, like the Pharisees and lawyers, who "rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of John." Under such circumstances, the unbaptized would not be saved. Besides, is it credible that anything whatever could have been proposed, in any sense, as a term or pre-requisite of salvation, if it were dependent on the opinion which others might form of the character of the party? Did baptism depend upon the option of the party who received it, or was there reserved a right of refusal in the hands of the administrator? On the former supposition, the passage means, he who believes and submits to baptism enjoined upon all, shall be saved; on the latter, he who believes and persuades another person to baptize him shall be saved. In the latter, so far as his salvation is made dependent upon his baptism (how far, I say not) it is made dependent upon the opinion which another person may form of his qualifications. Of whatever it is said, he that does it shall be saved, we may be sure no one has a right to debar another from the doing of it. If Jesus says, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," whoever forbids water to any incurs a fearful responsibility. As it is evident that the Pharisees and lawyers refused to be baptized by John, and not that John refused to baptize

them, so this passage, were there no other, is quite sufficient to prove that unbaptized hearers of the Gospel in the apostolic age refused to be baptized, not that the apostles and first teachers refused to baptize them.\*

If it be asked why belief should be mentioned before baptism, we reply, as one must be mentioned before the other, there may have been no specific reason for the preference, or the reason may have been in the circumstances of the address, and now may be of no importance, or usually it was to be expected that persons would first believe and then apply for baptism. We, however, must protest against the assumption that reasons for the collocation of words are to be demanded in controversy. That he who believeth and is baptized will be saved, we cordially believe; but why belief should be mentioned before baptism, we are not bound to explain.

There is another passage which is sometimes unfairly introduced into this controversy, as if it proved that faith is a condition of baptism. I refer to Acts viii. 37. "And Philip said," in reply to the inquiry of the Ethiopian, "See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized?" "If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." If Philip insisted upon faith as a qualification for baptism and, as these words imply, would not have baptized the Ethiopian without a distinct profession of faith, I must admit they offer an objection to which I cannot reply. But, as I do not believe this verse to be any part of Holy Scripture, I do not feel myself bound to pay the least respect to its authority. It is excluded from the critical editions of the New Testament. Of the manuscripts in Uncial letters it exists only in one, the Codex Laudianus, a Latino-Greek manuscript, (the Latin occupying the

\* I make these remarks upon the assumption that the verse is genuine; but it is so doubtful that it ought not to be adduced in controversy. See Appendix A.

unusual place of the first column,) containing several peculiar readings, and the authority of which we cannot place in opposition to the Alexandrine, the Vatican, and the Ephrem codices. Of the cursive manuscripts, the greater number are without this verse.\* It was, I doubt not, originally appended as a gloss, in order to soften the manifest opposition between the sacred history and the subsequent practice of catechumenical preparation. It is undoubtedly ancient, as appears from several references; but in the third and fourth century nothing would appear more opposed to the practice of the church than the apostolic mode of baptizing persons as soon as they heard the Gospel. We find Tertullian sorely troubled with the speedy baptism of the Ethiopian treasurer.† Believers' baptism haunted the imagination of the man who here tampered with the genuine text of Holy Scripture.

Without noticing the only verse which seems to countenance the opinion of those who make faith a qualification for baptism, the lecture might appear to be incomplete, and those persons who are accustomed to appeal to the words might think I could not refute the argument founded upon them. I will not reason upon spurious texts.

But if there be no passage which directly asserts that faith is a qualification for baptism, and if there be no indirect argument founded on the exclusion of any person from that rite on account of unbelief, to limit the general commission, "baptize all nations," by inferential reasoning, would seem, *unless the inferences be very evident*, to make unauthorized exceptions to the express command of Christ. But are the inferences so manifestly in favour of believers' baptism? Are they in the slightest degree favourable to that theory? The circumstances of the primitive baptisms will elucidate the inquiry whether they were administered upon the belief that the parties bap-

\* See Appendix A.

† De Baptismo, § xlviij.

tized were previously sanctified, or only upon the assurance that they would be sanctified, if they also received the evangelical doctrine. Can we ascertain whether the apostles and their assistants invariably believed the parties whom they baptized to be genuine converts to the faith of Christ? Is there anything to determine the question whether they would have refused baptism to such as they did not suppose to have been truly converted?

I have already assigned reasons for concluding that John administered baptism without restriction to all applicants. The numbers which he baptized, the certainty that many of them must have been entire strangers to him, the rebukes which he addressed to some whom he knew, the declaration "I baptize you *unto* repentance," the fact that the responsibility of not being baptized was upon the Pharisees and lawyers, establish the conclusion that repentance was not the qualification, nor the want of it an obstacle to his baptism. Indeed, the evangelical history scarcely leaves a doubt upon the subject. Jesus at one time was baptizing more disciples than John; but can we suppose that those vast multitudes, to whom Jesus declared not himself openly, but spake only in parables, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and be converted, were judged to be sincerely and at heart consecrated to Christ? If the disciples thought so, never was there a more lamentable delusion, as appeared on the death of their Master. Of the multitudes baptized, not the slightest intimation is given of any qualifications required. The principle on which the disciples, under the sanction of their Master, baptized, seems to have been precisely that which John had previously adopted. A refusal or a delay of baptism is a thing unknown in the evangelical history, even when Jesus maintained a strict reserve in preaching the Gospel. No exclusion from the great commission can be sustained by precedent, adduced from the evangelists.



But let us notice the baptisms mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. "Now, when they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter, and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized, *every one of you*, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." A multitude of persons, for the most part strangers to the apostles, and previously to that day utterly ignorant of the Gospel, were affected and alarmed by the preaching of Peter, and in their alarm they inquired, What must we do? Peter exhorted every inquirer to repent. We cannot suppose that *in exhorting them to repentance* he made any selection, and the exhortation itself implies, that however anxious might have been their inquiry, they had not then repented, or at least were not then to be recognized as penitents. Nevertheless he exhorted those whom without discrimination he called upon to repent, to be also "baptized every one of them." It would be to our purpose to prove, that without any discrimination he exhorted a multitude of inquirers to be baptized. It is more to our purpose to show that those who were regarded as not having repented were exhorted without delay to be "baptized every one in the name of Christ." They were told to be baptized for the remission of sins. Neither we nor our opponents believe that baptism would procure the remission of sins; but whatever our opponents may understand by the phrase, we cannot explain it upon their theory, that the parties were not to be baptized until after their sins were forgiven. The conclusion appears to me inevitable, that persons who were not supposed to have repented, and whose sins were therefore not thought to be pardoned, were exhorted indiscriminately to be baptized. Is this compatible with the opinion that faith and repentance are pre-requisites for baptism? Would any Baptist minister at this time

exhort a multitude of strangers, in the first moments of alarm, to repent and be baptized every one of them? Would he exhort them in one breath to repent and be baptized, that is, would he exhort any, considered at the time as not having repented, to be baptized?

Nor is there anything in this instance to induce us to suppose that the apostles acted in an unusual manner. Viewed as our precedent, this first instance of baptism after the resurrection of Christ is armed at all points. There had fallen on these strangers no especial gift of the Holy Ghost; there had been manifest in them no peculiar demonstration of his presence. Of their sincerity, or of the certain issue of their inquiries, no supernatural intimation had been given. They were assured that on their repentance and baptism they should receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; plainly implying that he had not then fallen upon any of them.

Again, it cannot be supposed that the apostle would have refused baptism to *any* of the persons whom he exhorted to be baptized. If he said to the crowd of inquirers, *Be baptized every one of you*, it is obvious that he was ready to baptize any one. Each held the right to be baptized on the exhortation of the apostle. If any of these inquirers had not offered himself for baptism, or even if he had delayed until he received the remission of sin and the gift of the Holy Ghost, the words evidently implying that baptism should take place immediately, he would have been chargeable with disobeying the apostolic injunction. Besides, according to the theory we oppose, repentance is not the title to baptism, but satisfactory evidence of its reality. Yet as the exhortation implies, there was no waiting for satisfactory evidence. The presentation of the party for baptism was the only evidence which could have been afforded, or required. If, however, contrary to all fair interpretation, any insist that they were to repent, and after satisfactory evidence of repentance they

were to be baptized, we are brought to appeal again to the sacred history. "Then they that received his word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls."\* But evangelical repentance is not a thing of which any sinner can assure himself in a few hours—not a thing of which he can furnish satisfactory evidence to others in "the same day," nor of which he ought to receive an assurance at the moment of his first serious impressions. To these persons baptism might have been an assurance that God was willing to purify and pardon them for Christ's sake, but it could not have been administered upon the assurance that they were already purified and pardoned. Such testimonials are not to be given to converts of an hour's standing: they do not belong to penitents who have not wiped away their first tears. The narrative appears to me inexplicable, unless Peter was ready to administer baptism indiscriminately to all applicants.

Our opinion is confirmed as we proceed. The next account of the administration of baptism is in Acts viii. 12, 13: "But when they believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. Then Simon himself believed also; and when he was baptized, he continued with Philip." I lay no stress upon the numbers who were baptized, nor upon the fact that a very wicked man was baptized with them; for although these things exactly correspond with the opinions I advance, yet they might have taken place in accordance with the more exclusive notion. I only refer to the extreme ignorance of the baptized magician. He is said to have believed, but he could have believed little more than that Philip was a teacher from God, able to work greater miracles than his own. As appears in the sequel, he was utterly

\* Acts ii. 41. The word ἀσμένως, gladly, I have omitted as probably spurious. See Appendix.

ignorant of the nature and simplest principles of the Gospel, totally unacquainted with the outlines of the evangelical theory, for he supposed he could buy the Holy Ghost with money. If Philip baptized all who applied without inquiry or selection, we have no difficulty with the instance of Simon. Ignorant as he was, he might be afterwards instructed; he might have been baptized with a view to his repentance; but if any care was taken to select only believers for baptism, it seems incredible that such a man could have been mistaken for a true Christian. His ignorance must have been detected by the simplest inquiry. Is it possible that so ignorant and deluded a creature, who had not acquired the slightest knowledge of the theory of the gospel, could have witnessed a good confession? In the history of any Baptist mission, is there to be found an instance of so ignorant and debased a man being baptized as a believer in Christ? Or if such an instance were detected, would it not be noticed as a proof of most culpable negligence on the part of the missionary?

The same chapter contains the account of the baptism of the Ethiopian treasurer. Omitting the unauthorized verse, we have the account of an African Jew (as yet no Gentile had been baptized) who had risen to a station of considerable importance in the court of the Queen of Meroe, an island formed by the streams of the Nile.\* Returning from the feast at Jerusalem, and reading Isaiah in his chariot, so unacquainted was he with the meaning of the prophecy that he inquired of Philip, "I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this, of himself, or of some other man?" Philip preached to him Jesus; and then as they proceeded on the journey, as soon as they arrived at a

\* Meroe, as we learn from Pliny, was governed by a succession of queens, who bore the name of Candace. There can be no doubt that this was the part of Ethiopia in which the eunuch occupied an official situation.



stream of water, Philip baptized the treasurer, of whose character, in the important station which he occupied in a distant country, the evangelist could have had no knowledge. The fruits of repentance, the permanent effect of evangelical truth, Philip did not stay to observe. We ascertain from the narrative that a stranger utterly ignorant of the Gospel was baptized after a few hours' instruction,—a fact explicable only upon the theory that baptism was readily administered to all who desired it.

We have, in the next place, to notice the baptism of Saul. In this instance Saul was baptized *straightway*, soon after Ananias entered the house, that is, as soon as he possibly could have been, after he was willing to receive the Christian ordinance. If Ananias believed Saul at the time to have been truly converted, he could not have baptized him at an earlier period; and therefore on no supposition is the account unfavourable to our views. The language, however, of Ananias implies that, when he exhorted Saul to be baptized, he did not consider the persecutor to have obtained the forgiveness of his sins. He learned, indeed, that Saul was praying; he knew that Saul was a chosen vessel of the election of grace, who was about to render eminent service to the cause of Christ, and therefore he could have had no doubt of his ultimate and complete conversion. Yet he seems to have regarded Saul, at that interview, as in a state preparatory to conversion, rather than of conversion itself. Observe the language of Ananias, "And now why tarriest thou?" We may ask, wherein was the delay? The answer is to be sought in the exhortation, "Arise and be baptized." Nothing else was delayed than his baptism, yet this was manifestly the first interview of Saul with a Christian on friendly terms. "The same hour I looked up upon him, and he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice

of his mouth ; for thou shalt be his witness to all men of what thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest thou ? ” I ask again, in what was the delay of Saul ? Was he delaying to accept Christ as his Saviour ? or was he delaying to offer himself for baptism ? To our argument, it is of little consequence which side of the alternative is preferred. If he was delaying his acceptance of Christ as his Saviour, still Ananias says, “ Why tarriest thou ? arise and be baptized.” If he was delaying his baptism, as the words seem to imply, baptism was the immediate duty, which was not to be delayed for an hour, of those who heard the Gospel. But observe the whole address, “ Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord.” The inference from these words is, that Ananias, in exhorting Paul to be baptized without delay, did not address him as a man whose sins were already forgiven. This indeed may be called inferential reasoning, of which our Baptist friends complain ; but I hope they will allow the inference to be logical, that if a man is exhorted to do a thing, he is supposed by the exhorter not to have done it. In fact, we have just the same reason for believing that Ananias thought Saul had not previously washed away his sins, as we have that he thought Saul had not previously been baptized, since he exhorted the persecutor to do both the one and the other, without delay. Such is our reasoning on the words, “ Why tarriest thou ? arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.” Ananias did not require the washing away of sin as a pre-requisite to baptism ; that is, Ananias did not administer believers’ baptism.

I am aware that some Baptists explain this washing away of sin as if it were only typical and sacramental washing. This exhortation of Ananias is, according to their comment, merely an expletive, as it is included in the previous command, “ be baptized.” The meaning thus elicited is,



be baptized, and perform a figurative representation of the washing away of sin. To state this exposition, it appears to me, is to confute it. But objections of all kinds offer themselves.

What right have any to interpret a command to perform a spiritual duty, as if it meant only to observe the ritual which represents that duty? If we meet with the command, however expressed, to believe in Christ for eternal life, have we any right to convert it into a command to eat the Lord's supper upon the plea that in the supper we have the emblem of believing on Christ to eternal life? The sanctification of the heart is called circumcision,—the spirituality expressed by the sign; but where is circumcision called the sanctification of the heart, the sign expressed by the spirituality? The name of the sign may be used to denote the thing signified; but the name of the thing signified never denotes the sign. Baptism may mean holiness, but holiness never means baptism. Such a mode of interpretation we reject as totally unauthorized, and as being the life and spirit of Tractarianism. There are no instances of it to be adduced. It is contrary to all the analogies of speech. To dilute the washing away of sins to a figurative representation, is as unauthorized a process as it is to convert the grace of the Holy Ghost into the emblems of the Pentecost. Such a perversion of Scripture must not be allowed to intrude into the doctrine of baptisms. To wash away sin is a solemn reality, and no ceremonial representation.

We inquire again, is there any other reason for this exposition than the exigency of those who support it? The literal sense of the words "wash away thy sins," occasions no difficulty whatever to those who think that Ananias addressed Saul as one who, in an agitated and unsettled state of mind, was to be regarded as becoming a Christian rather than as having already become so. If we allow the

exigencies of controversy to create a new sense of phrases, we may prove anything we please from Scripture.\*

Once more, the objection that the Holy Spirit washes away sin, if applicable to the command literally understood, is equally applicable to the figurative interpretation. According to this theology baptism is an emblem of the Holy Spirit washing away sin, and not of the man himself doing so. But how can he be commanded in figure and emblem to do that which he is not competent to do in reality? Does he in the figure act the part of the Holy Spirit? I have no difficulty with the literal sense, but those who have cannot be relieved by the figurative interpretation. But as this is a comment made for the controversy, we are bound to reject it.

The next baptism is that of Cornelius and his friends. "Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord."† That the descent of the Holy Ghost upon these Gentiles was not designed to qualify them for baptism, may be inferred from the baptism

\* I find the objection in the words of Dr. Carson, that the "washing away of sin is solely the work of the Spirit."—(p. 358.) Hence it is intimated that men cannot be commanded to wash away sin, except in the emblematical sense. My theology may not correspond with that of Dr. Carson, but what else than sin were the people to wash away to whom Isaiah said, "Wash you, make you clean?" What right would any have to expound the passage figuratively, and to say, for the sake of securing the doctrine of divine influence, Wash you by the ceremonial ablution of the Mosaic law? We have as much right to force the one passage as the other. Dr. Carson confutes us, by saying, "Could our opponents say to the parents of the infant, Arise and wash away the sins of the infant?" We reply, he annexes to the words a sense which we repudiate. But let me inquire, in the same style, can Baptist ministers say in baptism, We wash away the sins of these good people? If this language be wrong in the baptizer, why confute the parent with it? If it be right, the Baptist preacher hath "power and commandment to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins;" and not only to declare it, but to represent it in a sacrament.

† Acts x. 47, 48.

of the Jews on the day of Pentecost, previous to their reception of the Holy Ghost. The intention was evidently to teach Peter that to the Gentiles were granted precisely the same privileges as to the Jews. As in all the preceding instances, the parties were baptized on the day in which they first heard the preaching of the Gospel.

We have next the account of Lydia, who was baptized with her household on her interview with the Apostle Paul by the river side, before she returned to her house, having then, for the first time in her life, heard the preaching of the Gospel ; and, in the same chapter, the narrative of the Philippian jailor, who, with his household, was baptized on the night of the earthquake, within an hour or two of the time in which he was about to commit suicide. When Paul spake unto him the word of the Lord, it is said, “ And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes, and was baptized, he and all his, straightway ; and when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.” For no evidence of repentance did Paul wait ; the same hour of the night, the jailor was baptized ; and, after his baptism, not previously to it, we are told he believed in God, with all his house. Can we suppose, amidst the confusion of such a night, that the poor jailor did anything more than place himself at the disposal of Paul and Silas, that they might do with him whatever they thought proper ? The first thing they did, after speaking the word of the Lord, even before they took refreshment, was straightway to baptize him. In these instances the families, whether infant or adult, were baptized as soon as the opportunity was afforded, by the willingness of the heads to allow the administration of that ordinance.

In the instance of household baptisms it is often asked, how do we know they consisted of infants ? A more important inquiry is, how do we know they consisted of believers ? The question of infant baptism is not here directly before us, but

we have a right to ask, as the burden of proof belongs to those who limit the commission, how they know that the adults in these households were believers? Lydia was a believer, but of her family we know nothing. The household of Stephanas had addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints when the apostle wrote,—so many years after their baptism, that he could not recollect whether he had baptized more than two other persons about the same time. As to the jailor, we do not know that he himself was a believer when he was baptized. He was not a believer a short time before, he was a believer a short time afterwards; but whether his baptism preceded his belief, or his belief his baptism, we do not know. All I know is, that his baptism with his household is mentioned first, and his believing with his house is reported afterwards, in the sacred narrative.

The next account is of the baptism of the twelve men of Ephesus, who had been previously baptized by Apollos, after the manner of John's baptism, and not in the name of Christ. Having considered this re-baptism in a previous lecture, I now pass it over as having no other connexion, so far as I can discover, with our present argument, than as confirming our deductions from the preceding instances. Paul baptized twelve men who "had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost;" who, on the very strictest interpretation of their words, had never heard of the effusion of the Pentecost, and of the plenitude of miraculous gifts conferred upon the church, after a brief exposition, as it must have been, of the testimony which John, whose baptism alone they knew, had borne to Jesus as the Christ.

These are the baptisms mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; and again I ask, on the review of them, what authority do they afford for the restriction of the baptismal commission to believers? If the New Testament were intended to teach us that only believers, or such as were judged to be faithful, were proper subjects of Christian



baptism, it is remarkable that a selection of instances should have been given, of the greater number of which the administrator could have no satisfactory evidence that the persons baptized had previously washed away their sins; and in all, the profession of faith in Christ which, we are told, ought to be credible, (if anything worthy of that name existed,) could not have been of more than a few hours' standing. Were any one to form his opinion from these historical notices, without any previous bias, would he not conclude that baptism was indiscriminately administered without any qualification whatever? There is not in one of them the slightest intimation of any prerequisite. In no instance was any qualification specified. In no instance was there any hesitation or delay; but, with the exception of the re-baptizing of those who had been improperly baptized, the ordinance was administered immediately after the parties, for the first time in their lives, had heard the preaching of the Gospel. In no instance could a Baptist minister, acting in accordance with the usual practice of his denomination, have administered the ordinance. Would he baptize any, as on the day of Pentecost, in the hour of their first convictions, without time for the slightest inquiry; or, as in the instance of Saul, previously to the remission of their sins? Would he baptize so uninstructed a man as Simon Magus; that is, would he baptize a notorious juggler and impostor without a slight examination of his knowledge of the Gospel? Would he baptize a stranger to Christ and to himself, as the Ethiopian treasurer, on the first interview? Would he baptize the whole household of Lydia, or of the Philippian jailor, immediately after he had preached to them the first sermon? But if, as we have seen, there is no authority, direct or indirect, for restricting baptism to believers, and no inferential reasoning on the facts of the New Testament in favour of such a restriction, we ask again, what right have our Baptist friends, with no authority of Scrip-

ture, or rather in direct contravention of its examples, to impose this limitation upon the general form of the commission of our Lord? If the restriction be apostolical, it must be found in some other documents than in the Acts of the Apostles.

As to the allusions in the epistles to the obligations of baptism, by which it has been attempted to defend the restriction to believers, or, at least, to adults, I need do no more than repeat the reply which has been often given to such attempts. When, for instance, the verse is cited, "As many of you as have been baptized unto Jesus Christ, have put on Christ," and the inference is deduced, as only adults could have put on Christ, so only adults were baptized,—it is quite sufficient to adduce, as many have done before me, another verse of the apostle, "I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law," and to inquire if our brethren will abide by the inference that, as adults only could be under obligation to do the whole law, infants were not circumcised? A baptized infant was as competent to put on Christ, as a circumcised infant was to do the whole law; but this reasoning on passages which manifestly refer only to the parties addressed, *as many of you*, is undeserving the trouble of serious refutation. Besides, the argument, if it prove anything, will, in its proper breadth, prove that no hypocrites were baptized, because such had not put on the Lord Jesus.

But I am aware some of our Baptist friends object to our translation of the words of the commission, and, instead of saying, as we have done, "Disciple all nations," they, retaining the authorised version, "Teach all nations, baptizing them," say the words themselves suggest the restriction; for as infants cannot be taught, they are not included in the commission, and therefore are not to be baptized. The meaning of the passage, admitting this interpretation, is that those who are taught are to be



baptized. I ask how does this interpretation assist our Baptist friends? Will they baptize all whom they teach? In how many families are children who, although well instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel, have no experience of its power, and do not in their practice submit to its authority! Do Baptist ministers baptize them because they are taught? if they do, they surrender their doctrine of believers' baptism; if they do not, they practically reject this interpretation. In order to exclude children, I have seen the interpretation put in this form, only those *who are capable* of being taught are to be baptized, to which the reply is obvious, do they baptize all who are capable of being taught? The only exposition that will justify their practice is—Go, and teach all nations, baptizing so many of them as make a credible profession of faith. But of credible profession there is not a word in the commission according to which they baptize; and they have no more right to insert this limitation as their gloss or amendment, than they have to append a clause restricting baptism only to Jews, or only to Gentiles—only to men, or only to women. By what authority doest thou these things, or who gave thee this authority?

In reference to those who maintain that baptism is to be administered to believers, and to their infant offspring, I need not protract the discussion. If the remarks I have made respecting the exclusive baptism of believers be correct, the argument applies with equal force to those who would establish a distinction in infancy between the children of believers and the children of unbelievers. If baptism is to be indiscriminately administered to all adult applicants, it would seem to follow, if infant baptism be admitted, that all infants presented by their parents ought to be indiscriminately baptized. Such *Pædo-baptists*, I apprehend, as think that of adults only believers ought to be admitted to baptism, would also maintain that of infants only the children of believers ought to be baptized;

and such as think that all adults ought to be admitted to baptism, would administer the ordinance to all infants without respect to the character of their parents. As a practical question, the inquiry concerns English Congregationalists, who generally baptize, without discrimination or scruple, the infants who are brought to them by the regular attendants on their ministry. I think this subject has not been sufficiently considered among us, as there are still some respected brethren who baptize only the children of church members, or of professed believers. Without professing to supply this deficiency, or hoping to bring about the unity of our denomination, unless it be remotely by exciting inquiry, I am compelled, by the course of this lecture, candidly, though briefly, to examine this question.

The principal argument for restricting baptism to the children of believers, is founded upon the opinion that, as the ancient sign of the covenant was administered to the seed of Abraham in testimony of his faith, (the covenant being made with him and with his seed,) so the modern sign of that covenant is to be administered to the seed of believers on account of the faith of their parents. We have therefore to consider the very important subject of the relation which baptism, the seal of the evangelical covenant, bears to circumcision, the seal of the Abrahamic covenant. After some anxious consideration, it appears to me that the argument in favour of the transmission of the sign of the Christian covenant from the believing parent to his children, founded upon the transmission of the sign of the Abrahamic covenant through the hereditary line of succession in the posterity of Abraham, fails in almost every particular. Independently of the feebleness of its foundation, the administration of baptism only to believing adults, the general opinion that baptism is substituted for circumcision, as a kind of hereditary seal of the covenant of grace, appears to be ill sustained by

scriptural evidence, and to be exposed to some very serious, if not absolutely fatal, objections.

The argument is, I think, stated more clearly and distinctly by Dr. Wardlaw,\* than by any other writer with whom I am acquainted. He proposes it thus :—"Before the coming of Christ, the covenant of grace had been revealed, and under that covenant there existed a *Divinely instituted connexion* between children and their parents; the sign and seal of the blessings of the covenant were, by Divine appointment, administered to children; and there can be produced no satisfactory evidence of this connexion having been done away." I am sorry that there is much in this statement of my revered friend, and still more in his illustration of it, with which I cannot bring either the facts or the reasoning of Scripture to coincide. The argument is, if I understand it, because the descendants of Abraham were circumcised in their infancy, the children of believing parents under the Gospel ought to be baptized in their infancy; seeing (for this is essential to the argument) that the Abrahamic and the Christian covenants are virtually and really the same, and that baptism, as the seal, is to be regarded as substituted for circumcision. On this argument is founded the exclusive right of the children of believers to baptism.

For any man, and especially for a Pædo-baptist, to measure syllogisms with Dr. Wardlaw, is far from being an agreeable or a safe adventure. But how can I escape? On consulting other writers, who have employed the general reasoning upon the Abrahamic covenant, I have not found one who has so lucidly, ably, and logically expounded the argument. Besides, as the proposition is, that especial privileges are conferred exclusively upon the children of believers, of which privileges baptism is the seal, the reasoning of such theologians as Dr. Wardlaw, and the Scottish Congregationalists, is at least consistent

\* On Infant Baptism. Section 1.

throughout ; but when I meet upon this ground our English friends of the Episcopal, Methodist, or Independent denomination, who, like myself, administer baptism to children, irrespective of the faith of their parents, I am ready to ask, What dost thou here ? Your argument will justify but one moiety of the baptisms which you solemnize.

In reasoning with our Caledonian brethren, it should be observed that we occupy a position the reverse of their Baptist opponents. We adduce our commission, as we think, for baptizing all nations, and they, by the Abrahamic covenant, would restrict it to the families of the faithful. Their reasoning, as against the Baptists, is for the enlargement of the commission ; as against us, for its limitation. If, however, they only reason upon the covenant as against those who confine baptism to believers, and say to us, If you can prove that all adult applicants may be baptized, our views of the covenant do not interfere with the evidence on the one side or on the other, then practically we can have no objection to their establishing, if they can, an additional reason for the baptism of believers' children. In all arguments, however, which assume any distinction of privileges among children on account of the faith of their parents, we must disclaim all participation.

I cordially agree with Dr. Wardlaw, that the evangelical covenant was established with Abraham, although in a specific form in which it was established with no one else. "God preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all the nations be blessed." Let us distinguish between the general promise, or the Gospel, and the specific promise, or the honour conferred on Abraham in constituting him the medium of bestowing the blessing upon all the nations. The general promise was that all nations should be blessed ; the specific promise to Abraham that they should be blessed *in him*. The general promise was the Gospel previously declared from the fall,



the Gospel preached before to our first parents, the Gospel of Abel, and of Enoch, and of Noah, who, before Abraham was, became "heirs of the righteousness of faith." Had only the general promise been given, that all the nations of the earth should be blessed, we do not see with what propriety it could have been specifically called the covenant with Abraham any more than the covenant with other patriarchs who, before Abraham, had received the same promise, without the seal of circumcision. The covenant made with Abraham had reference to peculiar honours conferred upon himself, inasmuch as the blessing promised for all nations, and announced to many patriarchs before himself, should be identified in an especial manner with his name, with his faith, and with his seed. To the nations about to be blessed, it might have been a matter of comparatively little importance whether deliverance should come through Melchizedek, or Lot, or Job, or any other ancient believer; but as one was to be chosen, the election of grace fell upon Abraham. The especial honour was conferred upon him in preference to every other patriarch. God engaged through him, that is, through an illustrious descendant from him, to bless all the nations. The Gospel, then, is the subject of the covenant with Abraham, but the specific form is that the promise should be imparted to the world *through him*. The emphasis of the covenant, so to speak, as established with Abraham, was on the words *in thee*—in thee shall all the nations be blessed; or, as in the renewal of the covenant on occasion of the offering of Isaac, *in thy seed* shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; or, as St. Paul expounds it, that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles *through Jesus Christ*. To this form of the covenant, proposed first in Abraham, and afterwards in his seed, the apostle refers: "Now to Abraham and to his seed were the promises made—he means not (οὐ λέγει) seeds, as of many, but as of one, And to thy seed,

which is Christ." To Abraham and to Christ, as the apostle himself expounds the word seed, the great promise was made, that in them, Abraham as the type, and Christ the antitype, all the nations of the earth should be blessed. Of this covenant (for Dr. Wardlaw has, I think, most clearly demonstrated, if the reading of the book of Genesis were not itself abundant demonstration, that the three several formularies declared to Abraham describe one and the same evangelical covenant) circumcision was the Divinely appointed seal,

I know not that in this view of the Abrahamic covenant I differ materially, if at all, from my honoured friend, whose name I have so often mentioned, unless I may be thought to do so in giving more prominence to the fact that Abraham was the man whom God delighted to honour on account of his faith, and with whom he made an especial covenant that *through him* the blessing of the Gospel should be conferred upon all nations. I fear, however, that in speaking of the sign of the covenant, our difference will become obvious.

Agreeing with Dr. Wardlaw in the commencement of his statement, "before the coming of Christ the covenant of grace had been revealed," I am compelled to hesitate, and the longer I hesitate the more I demur, on its conclusion, "and under that covenant there existed a Divinely instituted connexion between children and their parents; according to which the sign and seal of the blessings of the covenant were, by Divine appointment, administered to children; and there can be produced no satisfactory evidence of its having been done away." No one is bound to produce "satisfactory evidence of its having been done away," until some one produce satisfactory evidence of its having ever existed. The respected writer, indeed, says, "Under that covenant there existed a Divinely instituted connexion between children and their parents;" but of this connexion, which appears to me



to be the hinge of the whole argument, he offers, so far as I can find, no satisfactory evidence, nor even any evidence at all. That the sign of the blessings of that covenant was by Divine appointment administered to children, I, of course, admit; but it is implied in the argument that it was so administered on account of the connexion between those children and their parents. The sign of the Abrahamic covenant was given to every child, as it appears to me, on account, not of his immediate connexion with his parents, but of his remote connexion with the head of the covenant. The covenant was made primarily and directly with Abraham, secondarily and indirectly with all his connexions of every kind, and was to continue through all generations until its accomplishment by the blessing of Abraham coming upon the Gentiles through Christ Jesus. Every descendant of Abraham was born with an incipient interest in this evangelical covenant, and was related to the Messiah according to the flesh, inasmuch as he was related to the progenitor of that promised seed. The descendants of the head of the covenant, on account, not of the *persons through whom*, but of the *persons from whom* they were heirs of the promise, received both the privilege and the sign of the covenant. God established his covenant with Abraham and his seed after him—not his children only, but his posterity for ages. According to these terms, the children of Esau, as well as the children of Jacob, received the sign of circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of the faith of their common ancestor. Hanoah, and Phallu, and Hezron, and Carmi, received the sign of the covenant, not as the sons of Reuben, but as the descendants, although in the fourth generation, of him whom God had so greatly honoured as to engage in covenant with him and with his posterity for his sake. Ahaziah was circumcised, not because he was the son of the wicked Ahab, or the more wicked Jezebel, but because he was of the covenanted lineage of the faithful Abraham. The

privilege, then, is resolved into the connexion between Abraham and his posterity, and no other seems to be recognized in the Abrahamic covenant—of no other can I find the slightest trace in all the reasoning upon the analogy of signs and seals in the ancient and the Christian dispensation. A father might by unbelief cut himself off from the people, incur the forfeiture of his privileges, but he could not, by that act, prevent his child from claiming restoration as a son of Abraham; but *if the forfeiture was not hereditary, neither was the privilege*. The proof of ancestry would have been sufficient, however broken might have been the link of connexion. In ascertaining the covenanted relation of the children, the character of the immediate parents was never taken into the account. They might or they might not be believers,—they might or they might not themselves be circumcised. As that rite was neglected during the forty years of the sojourning in the wilderness, for, through some reason unexplained, Moses did not enforce it during his government of Israel, it is probable, or rather, in so great a multitude, certain, according to the course of human life, that many, who were born after the day they left Egypt, died before the rolling away of the reproach at Gilgal, at the end of the forty years, leaving their orphan children in the camp. Such children were undoubtedly circumcised, as being the descendants of Abraham. Jesus said to the Jews, “If ye were Abraham’s children, ye would do the works of Abraham;” and many before them in the lineal descent had forfeited their honourable standing as the children of Abraham; yet their children, the spiritual connexion not being with the immediate parent, but the remote ancestor, preserved unimpaired their interest in the covenant, and with propriety received its seal in their infancy. The Edomites, although retaining circumcision in the time of Jeremiah,\* had abandoned it

\* Jer. ix. 25, 26.

before the conquest of Idumæa by John Hyrcanus, probably through the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes; but although the connexion between parents and children, in retaining the seal of the Abrahamic covenant, was broken, when they submitted to the condition imposed by their conqueror of resuming circumcision, as the descendants of Abraham, these children of the uncircumcised observed the law of the covenant of their great ancestor.\* If this view be correct, and it is implied in the words of the covenant, “and thy seed after thee, in their generations,” then the argument of my venerated friend should have stood thus:—“in that covenant there existed a Divinely instituted connexion between” an ancestor and his posterity in their generations, “and there can be produced no satisfactory evidence of this connexion having been done away;” and the inference from the analogy, or if it so please, the identity of the covenants, according to this mode of reasoning, would be that the posterity of a believer throughout all generations ought to be baptized. If a covenant were now specifically contracted with a believer, for him and for his seed after him in their generations, then we think the Divinely instituted seal of that special covenant would belong to his posterity, not to each on account of his immediate parents having received it, but to all on account of their common descent from the person with whom the covenant was originally made. In such an instance, we think the analogy would be complete. The argument of the Abrahamic covenant, if it apply at all, applies to the grandchildren of believers as well as to their children, and so on to the third and fourth generation, and through an infinite series.

In confirmation of these remarks it may be added, that all persons connected with Abraham, or belonging to his household, although not his children, “He that is born in thy house, or bought with money of any stranger,” re-

\* Josephus, *Antiq. lib. xiii. c. ix. § 1.*

ceived the sign of the covenant, and therefore must have been included in its privileges. Nor does the act of Abraham seem to recognize any peculiar relation in his covenant between parents and children. He "took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's house, and circumcised them." By house, we must here understand his whole tribe, or village of tents, because he is said to have had three hundred and eighteen trained servants or warriors, "born in his own house;" but all these, with the fair proportion of females and children, were surely not literally born in his own tent. If, however, Abraham, some years before, had three hundred and eighteen warriors, and continued greatly to prosper; and if to these we add their male children and youth not old enough to bear arms, and all that were bought with his money, his herdsmen and slaves, sufficient, as we may infer from his great wealth, to do the agricultural and servile work of a clan of warriors, whose families must have consisted of more than a thousand persons, we arrive at a computation which makes the act of Abraham appear far more that of the chieftain of his tribe, than of the father of his family. So, in after ages, if any person was received into the house of Israel, he and all his sons were circumcised. Their distinction of race being overlooked, they were considered as new-born children of Abraham, and admitted to belong to the people in whom the seed should come to bless all nations. From these instances it would appear that the descendants of the patriarch held the sign of the covenant with power to impart it to all who, as servants or slaves, or in any other capacity, might be permanently united with their families; and so, eventually, in their posterity might be blended with the Abrahamic race. They were reckoned by incorporation the seed of Abraham, being grafted into the good olive tree,—the partakers of its fatness and



fruit. Should it be objected that Esau was rejected from the covenant, the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, and therefore that he did not inherit as the grandson of Abraham, this objection must be irrelevant, as he was not excluded from the visible sign of the covenant. With man is the administration of the sign, according to revealed law; with God the bestowment of the blessing, according to the election of grace.

It may possibly be thought by some, that this reply to the reasoning on the assumed connexion of children and their parents in the Abrahamic covenant, cannot be satisfactory, or our Baptist friends would have resorted to it, instead of betaking themselves, as they have done, so far as I know, in their replies to Dr. Wardlaw, to the desperate course (I am compelled to call it so) of maintaining that the covenant of circumcision was a covenant of temporal blessings, although St. Paul declares it to have been the promise which the law could not disannul; or that circumcision was only a civil, political, or national distinction, although St. Paul calls it the seal of the righteousness of Abraham's faith. I do not know that I am bound to refrain from using an argument, because the Baptists do not choose to patronize it. Our friends best know how to manage their own case, and they have, I doubt not, good and sufficient reasons for shunning my argument, in their opposition to Dr. Wardlaw's essay. Looking warily upon every side of this subject, it is possible they might feel, in reference to these views of the Abrahamic covenant, that the one I adopt having a wider range, is the more Pædo-baptistical of the two. In avoiding the doctrine of my friend, that infants received the sign of the evangelical covenant before its confirmation in Christ, on account of a Divinely instituted connexion with their parents, they may look as suspiciously upon my view of the subject, that infants received the sign of that covenant



because they were born with a recognized interest in it, as belonging to the lineage which, through all its generations, held the promise until its confirmation in Christ. If the former leads to the opinion that, under the Gospel, the infants of believers are to be baptized, the latter as directly leads to the opinion that all infants who are born with a recognized interest in the Gospel, are to be baptized. If, from the doctrine that an infant received the ancient sign of the covenant, by virtue of his parents' interest in it, the inference is, that an infant is now to be baptized by virtue of his parents' interest in the Gospel; it appears to me, with at least equal clearness, that if an infant received the ancient sign of the covenant, on account of his personal interest in it, as belonging to the kingdom of Israel, whatever might have been the character of his parents; so an infant should now receive the new sign of the covenant on account of his personal interest in it, as belonging, according to the assurance of our Lord, to the kingdom of heaven. Under either form of the evangelical covenant, when it was confined to the seed of Abraham, or since it has comprised all the nations of the earth, an unbelieving parent never had power, so far as I can find, to exclude his children from this precious birthright.

The most important difference, as it appears to me, between the views of my respected friend and my own, consists in his regarding circumcision as having been performed on the infant on account of the interest of his parents in the Abrahamic covenant, and in my regarding it as having been performed on account of his own personal interest in it, even though his parents, like the Jews who fell in the wilderness, had forfeited the grace of the covenant, and never received its sign. So, under the Gospel, my friend makes the application of his argument depend upon a relative interest of the children of believers, through their parents, in the evangelical covenant; I

make it depend, so far as I adopt it, upon the personal interest of the children, irrespective of the faith of their parents in that covenant. The principal change, as it appears to me, which the Abrahamic covenant, essentially the covenant of grace, has sustained, is, that although previously to the death of Christ, it recognized only the posterity of Abraham, subsequently to that event, it has received "all the nations." In that state of covenanted privilege, whatever it be, in which Dr. Wardlaw places the children of believers, do I, without respect of persons, place the children of all men. Before the advent of Christ, one nation was blessed in Abraham; since the advent, in him are blessed all the families of the earth. Before the advent, Abraham was inheritor of Canaan; since, he is become heir of the world. The termination of the special privileges of the Jews, is the equal bestowment of them, without their speciality, upon all mankind; the fall of Israel is the riches of the world; the casting away of Israel is the reconciling of the world. The seed of the woman, represented by Christ, has succeeded in external privilege to the race of Abraham. All the Gentiles are branches engrafted into the holy root of Abraham, not on account of their faith (for the Jews were not engrafted by faith); and yet standing by faith, as by unbelief, they, like the Jews, may be cut off. The relation, therefore, is merely external, like that of Israel, and refers to external privileges. On account of that relation, no man can now be called common or unclean. Every Gentile now, as distinctly as was every Jew, is born entitled to the external privileges of the Gospel. Dying in infancy, he is saved by the death of Christ; surviving, he has an inceptive right, conferred by grace, to salvation by faith in Christ, the forfeiture of which he incurs by unbelief, or by what may be considered the guilty act, equivalent to unbelief, which, in heathen darkness, leaves him without excuse. On these principles we claim all

that is valuable in the reasoning of Dr. Wardlaw on the Abrahamic covenant (how much is valuable let those say who have carefully studied it) for all Gentile children, who are, as we believe, in the exact position, as to privilege, in which he places the children of believers. Should it be asked, Were not Gentiles in this state before the advent of Christ? We reply, in so far as they were, it was "the mystery" hidden from the foundation of the world; and, therefore, under the law of circumcision, no rule of administration for the ancient church. I have, and I ought to confess it candidly, some serious objections to the acknowledgment of baptism as the substitute for circumcision; but how far these objections on the one hand, and the argument from the analogy on the other, should avail, the more appropriate place to consider would be in a lecture on the specific reasons in favour of infant baptism, and the objections which are alleged against it. All I at present assert is, that the reasoning of my friend, be it valid or invalid, cannot limit the commission to the children of believers; and so far as it is valid, I put in a claim for it on behalf of "all the nations."

Dr. Owen, in his tract on Infant Baptism, while he defends generally the views of my respected friend, appends an argument which he thus expresses:—"They that have the thing signified have a right unto the sign of it, or those who are partakers of the grace of baptism have a right to the administration of it." This I hold to be incontrovertible. And afterwards, in order to show that the infant children of believers have the thing signified, the grace of baptism, he says, "All children in their infancy are reckoned unto the covenant of their parents, by virtue of the law of their creation. It is therefore contrary to the justice of God and the law of the creation of human kind, wherein many die before they can discern between their right hand and their left, to deal with in-

infants any otherwise but in and according to the covenant of their parents ; and that he doth so, see Rom. v. 14." If it is meant that the children of unbelievers are, with their parents, and for their parents' unbelief, excluded from the covenant of grace, and dying in infancy perish inevitably, while the infants of believers are saved, this, I am sure, is nowhere asserted in Scripture, whatever may be "the law of the creation of human kind ;" on which difficult subject, without the express testimony of inspiration, I do not feel competent to reason. Dr. Owen's distinction, however, is clear, and consistent with his whole argument. He baptized the infant children of believers, because they are in their parents' covenant of grace ; he did not baptize the children of unbelievers, because they, like their parents, are not in the covenant of grace. To these conclusions his view of the Abrahamic covenant logically conducted him ; and Owen was not the man to hesitate about a conclusion, however startling, to which he was brought from his premises by a due course of logic, however circuitous. But is it the doctrine of the New Testament that there is any such distinction in the spiritual state and condition of infants ? The passage to which Dr. Owen appeals asserts the death of infants on account of the transgression of Adam, who was the representative of the race in the first covenant. To this we add, in the language of the succeeding verse, "But not as the offence so also is the free gift ; for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." If the offence of one man hath abounded unto many, who have not sinned after the similitude of his transgression, much more hath the gift by grace through another abounded to many who have not obeyed after the similitude of his righteousness. If in Adam all infants die, much more in Christ are all infants redeemed from death. I believe, with Dr. Owen, that all who have



the grace of baptism have right unto the sign. I believe, with St. Paul, that the gift of grace hath abounded to all who have not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, for if it does not reach all infants, it does not abound so much as the offence, and therefore that all infants have the grace signified by baptism, salvation by the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ their head. As it appears to me, Dr. Wardlaw restricts the sign, but nowhere restricts the grace of the Christian covenant to one class of infants; Dr. Owen, more consistently, restricts both the sign and the grace, and arrives at the conclusion that the infants of unbelievers are under the covenant of works. We restrict neither the sign nor the grace, but believe that all infants are reckoned, not unto the covenant of their parents, but by the first covenant of death unto the first Adam, and by the second covenant of life unto the second Adam, the Lord from heaven. We, therefore, claim all that is valuable in the reasoning of Dr. Owen, as well as of Dr. Wardlaw, for the baptism of all children who have the grace signified by the sign.

Although I propose to confine this lecture to the reasoning which depends upon the commission, yet as that reasoning must be, to some degree, affected by the view we take of the position of "all the nations," under the evangelical economy, I am bound to advert to that subject. The reasoning which I claim from Owen and Wardlaw becomes available, just as it can be shown that the Gentiles have become entitled to the privileges of the Abrahamic covenant. When a restrictive clause is suggested to the commission, excepting all children and all unbelievers, however willing to be baptized, the inquiry arises, What, according to the Gospel, is the position of "all the nations" that they should be thus excluded?

Let us endeavour to trace the reasoning of St. Paul upon this subject in the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans. The apostle had solemnly and firmly denied



the inference which some might have been disposed to draw from his doctrine respecting the fall of many in Israel, that God had utterly cast off his people. To sustain his denial he says, "For I am an Israelite;" but how did his being an Israelite prove that God had not utterly rejected Israel? Had God judicially, by a sentence pronounced upon the nation, cast out the people from their religious privileges, no Israelite could have been saved. Excluded from "the promise," the external administration of the Gospel, Israel could not have contained "a residue according to the election of grace," which it did, notwithstanding the utter rejection of many Israelites. There is, therefore, a great difference between the rejection of the Israelites individually and the fall of Israel nationally. As a nation, Israel had fallen from its exclusive relation to Abraham, because all the privileges of the Abrahamic covenant were equally conferred upon the Gentiles. The Jew was no longer sole heir, but only with the Gentile co-heir of the promise, holding it, subject to excision and forfeiture, on the same conditions. In illustrating these sentiments, the apostle introduces the passage, "If the first-fruits be holy, so is the lump; and if the root be holy, so are the branches." So far as Israel is concerned, the illustration is too obvious to be misunderstood. The posterity of Abraham partook of privileges derived from that patriarch. In the sense in which he was holy, by a covenant relation, not by personal sanctity, they were also holy, having received, as he had, the sign of the ancient form of the evangelical covenant. They were holy, not by a sanctity independent of their descent, but as springing from the holy root. Some of these holy branches were cut off through unbelief. Their circumcision became as uncircumcision: their relative holiness was forfeited by their personal corruption. But what is the doctrine of the apostle respecting the Gentiles? "If some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive, wert

grafted in among them, and with them partake of the root and fatness of the olive tree." The doctrine surely is, that the inserted Gentiles were placed precisely in the position of the rejected Jews, that is, were partakers of the same relative holiness. To say that partaking "of the root and fatness of the olive" denotes personal holiness, would be to assert that Jews excluded through unbelief, had been also partakers of personal holiness, which is directly contrary to the apostle's argument. Besides, there was danger to the Gentile of a similar excision; his standing was only by faith; his privileges would become like those of the Jews, of no avail through unbelief. "If God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he spare not thee." The question is, What Gentiles were partakers of the evangelical privileges with the Jews? what branches were grafted into the good olive tree? who were admitted into the state, not of personal salvation, but of covenant privilege, like that which had long been confined to the house of Israel? We answer, "The promise is to you and to your children, and to all that are afar off; even as many as the Lord our God shall invite." All Gentiles brought under the sound of the Gospel, are put upon the trial of their faith. They are all inserted in the good olive tree, to ascertain if they will bring forth good fruit. Fruitless, they are rejected, with many of Israel; fruitful, they are approved with the residue of the election. The root bears all these branches; so Abraham becomes the father of many nations, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. To confine the external privileges and relative holiness to the Jews, is to represent Abraham, as the father only of one nation, and not, as the promise declared, of many: to confine them to the converted, is to represent the olive, as without any fruitless branches to be cut off through unbelief.

But are the infants of Gentiles entitled to the privileges of the covenant with Abraham? Are they holy branches

engrafted into the holy root? Undoubtedly, we reply without hesitation, every one of them. In the promise made to Abraham they are co-heirs with the infants of his national seed, for there is no longer any difference between Jew and Greek. The Abrahamic covenant cannot be disannulled, although it is enlarged by the admission of the Gentiles, who by the call of the Gospel inherit the promise from the father of many nations, in whom all the families of the earth were to be blessed. The infant branches of Israel cannot be cut off on account of unbelief; dying in infancy in union with the father of the faithful, they live, we cannot doubt, in Abraham's bosom. Israel is not then utterly rejected, although its adult population is cut off on account of unbelief; but its little children, not so forfeiting their privilege, are heirs of every promise. And the Gentile infant, grafted into the stock of Abraham, is also and equally partaker of every privilege. The root is holy; the branches are also holy, whether natural or engrafted; for Abraham is the father of many nations.

The Jews, in their collective capacity, originally constituted a privileged body in a covenant state; but the Gentiles, in their collective capacity, were represented as an unprivileged body not in a covenant state. Individual Gentiles might be saved as individual Jews were lost; but the Jews were the good olive tree whose root was Abraham; the Gentiles were the wild olive tree whose root was Adam. Wherever the Gospel was preached, it brought the Gentiles into the state of privilege by which the Jews were previously distinguished; all not excluded by their unbelief, and therefore infants, through the Gospel were reckoned to the stock of Abraham, and, being introduced by grace, they must, arriving at maturity, on their own responsibility abide in him. Abraham is the father of many nations. If this be the apostle's doctrine, the covenant of external privilege made with Israel has never been dissolved, except in its exclusive character. The change

it has sustained is entirely of enlargement. The tabernacle of Zion has lengthened its cords, and strengthened its stakes. The good olive tree has not been plucked up, but multitudes of new branches have been engrafted into it, many of them fruitful, but many, like the older branches, fruitless. With the commission in my hand, can I find for it a restrictive clause in the apostolic representation of the privileges of all the nations? Can I hesitate a moment in conferring a sign of external privilege (baptism is nothing else) upon the children of the Gentiles, the new branches of the good olive? As the older and fruitless branches had their older sign of circumcision, who shall forbid these new branches to receive the new sign of baptism? Whether the two signs are essentially identical, although formally distinct, I do not say, for I have that subject still to consider, but both were external signs of their respective forms of the covenant; and baptism, whatever it may be, is no more to the Gentile the seal of internal purity, than was circumcision to the Jew. Both speak of sanctification, but neither assures its subject of more than the external privilege, the covenant relation.

Baptism is the sign of this covenant relation. It cannot be the seal of internal purity, for if it were, what erring mortal would dare by its administration to attest the character of another, into the secrets of whose heart he cannot penetrate? To say it is the sign of purity, or of salvation, upon the condition, or as the result, of believing the Gospel, is to admit the very thing for which we contend; for the state of which we speak, so far as adults are concerned, is a state in which a man is set apart for salvation by the Gospel, unless he be reprobate through unbelief; and, so far as infants are concerned, a state in which their salvation is secured by the promise of the covenant with Abraham, into whose root they are engrafted. Our argument from this passage is similar in form, although more extensive in its application, to that which



our friends derive from the Abrahamic covenant by a different process. They contend that infants should be baptized, because they are children of members of the covenant; we, because they are children of its head,—holy branches from a holy root. They say that, as some infants were recognized by the appropriate sign as members of the kingdom of Israel, so some ought now to be recognized by the appropriate sign, as members of the kingdom of heaven; we say, that as the natural branches of the stock of Abraham were recognized as holy by their appropriate sign, so the engrafted branches ought to be recognized as holy by their appropriate sign.

It ought to be observed, that in this argument I have laid no stress upon the epithet "holy," as it is applied by the apostle to the branches of the holy root. I find in the baptismal commission, "all the nations;" and I learn from the apostolic writings, that "all the nations" have succeeded to the external privileges of the Abrahamic covenant, or that in Abraham all the families of the earth are blessed. I find, consequent on the fall of Israel from its exclusive privileges, the reconciling of the world; and I conclude that the apostolic doctrine furnishes no exception to the unrestricted terms of the baptismal commission. It may, however, be asked, Does the use of the term "holy" add anything in confirmation of the reasoning? I think it does; but as I do not wish the reader to place any reliance upon it, as it in no way affects the general reasoning on the passage, I keep it distinct from the rest of the argument. Great injustice would be done, if I were represented as making the lecture depend upon the few remarks I offer respecting the words, "If the root be holy, so are the branches." If the argument does not stand independently of them, let it fall, for they are not proposed as broad enough to sustain it; but if it has another foundation, they may serve to illustrate or confirm it. My chief reason for noticing them here is, that other-



wise I should have to return to this passage, and repeat much that I have said; when, in a subsequent lecture, I must consider the meaning of the apostle's assertion, that the children of believers are not "unclean," but "holy."

In the connexion in which the apostle speaks of the branches, consisting of natural and engrafted, Jewish and Gentile, as both holy, and as cut off, in some instances, through unbelief, the term can be employed to designate no moral nor religious quality. In this sense the Jewish branches of the root were not holy, and we cannot suppose the apostle would use the one term, "holy," in two distinct senses, as applied in one common phrase to both Jews and Gentiles. Under the law every Jew was ceremonially or externally holy,—under the Gospel no man is common or unclean: "For what God hath sanctified, that call not thou common."

I must here protest against the insinuation that I am resorting to a Jewish notion, since I am following the guidance of the apostle of the Gentiles. If any say, that they admit no holiness which is not moral,—no holiness of a Divinely constituted relation to external privileges,—no holy branches from a holy root,—I reply, that they do not admit the plain implication of this text; and having lost the apostle's doctrine respecting external holiness, they cannot interpret his phraseology. This passage, whatever else it may mean, unequivocally teaches that, in a state of external relation to God, persons are called holy. The inquiry is, What is that state? or, more precisely, Who are those persons?

According to Jewish law in the book of Leviticus, unclean things were distributed into three kinds,—those which might not be touched, those which might not be eaten, and those which might not be sacrificed; although some of these distinctions were not of Moses, but of the fathers. The things which were not in this sense unclean, were, though clean, distinguished from those called

holy ; or if they were called holy, it was only in a sense contrasted with their previous uncleanness, from which they were purified. Thus, holy vessels were not vessels which might be used, but vessels belonging to the service of God ; so holy garments, holy oil, holy meats, and holy sacrifices were dedicated to God. But, what is more to our own purpose, this distinction was especially observed in reference to persons : a leper was unclean, but when pronounced clean, and so far sanctified, he was distinguished from a holy person. The holy person was especially appropriated to God, and usually, if not always, designated by some act of consecration. Thus the priest was holy, and consecrated to his office ; the Nazarite was holy, and dedicated by his vow ; the first-born child, being a male, was holy ; and we have the account of a dedication in St. Luke :—" They brought him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord, as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy unto the Lord, and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord." In a still more extensive sense, all Israel was a holy nation separated to God from the rest of the world, and the sign of its separation was the rite of circumcision. How many things and persons were thus sanctified by the ceremonies of the Levitical economy, I need not stay to inquire. Almost all were purified with water, or with blood, or with both. The apostle says, " The blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctify to the purifying of the flesh ; " sanctify by an external purification. With these ideas of consecration universally prevalent, when the apostle spoke of persons as holy in an external sense, sanctified to the purifying of the flesh, would he not be understood as implying that for them there was some ceremony of purification ? They were holy either as fitted for such a ceremony, or as having already received it. They were dedicated to God, or were to be dedicated to him. There was done for them, or there was to be done for

them, something according to the law, the Jewish law or the Christian law, that they might be called holy. They were sanctified, to the purifying of the flesh, so far as the external relation was concerned.

But of all the Jewish purifications, none was so frequently said to sanctify as the washing with water. Preparatory to the legislation on Sinai, Moses was commanded to sanctify the people, that is, to make them wash themselves and be clean. In Leviticus, all that touched the flesh of the sin-offering were to be sanctified, that is, as appears from the connexion, to be washed. And so the Jews, as all writers on their antiquities testify, called their divers baptisms their sanctifications. Christ is said to sanctify his church by the washing with water, in which words, although I doubt not the inward cleansing of the Spirit is intended, yet the allusion to the sign of washing with water, clearly shows the current language of the apostolic age. As those dedicated to God by ceremonial observance were commonly said to be sanctified, and as especially the washing with water was called a sanctification, are we not entitled to conclude, unless good reason can be shown against us, that when the apostle, who sanctions this current language of the Jews by his own example, calls persons holy in merely a ceremonial sense, he sanctions a service of consecration, the sanctification by the washing of water? How far it may be thought to confirm this view of the passage, that the Christian writers so generally call baptism sanctification, and the baptized holy, as I place very little reliance upon such elucidations of Scripture, I leave others to determine. The instances are too numerous to be cited; and, occasionally, as in the reply of Cyprian and the other bishops assembled in Carthage to Fidus, on the subject of baptizing before the eighth day, the infant is said both to be baptized and to be sanctified; \* but Cyprian and his suffragans are not,

\* Cypriani Epist. 64.

in my opinion, very valuable commentators on St. Paul. Upon the whole, after this prolonged examination of the verse, I submit these additional remarks, not as independent argument of any worth, but simply to elucidate our previous conclusion, that infants, whether of Jews or Gentiles, are holy branches of the stock of Abraham, in one instance by natural growth, in the other by engrafting; and that, having the holiness of the external relation to God, they are recognized in the Abrahamic covenant, which now includes "all the nations" whom the apostles were commanded to baptize.

Should it be said that nothing is implied in the covenant relation of the Gentiles to Abraham respecting their baptism, I reply that the argument of Dr. Wardlaw and Dr. Owen is, they who have the grace of the covenant have an undeniable right to its sign; and I claim all that is good in their argument, not for some children only, but for all children whatever. There is, however, this important difference between us. They seem to construct upon the privileges of the covenant an independent argument. I do not commit the argument to the world in that character; but producing the commission, whose grammatical interpretation is, baptize "all the nations," I look to the apostolic doctrine for the exception or the confirmation of that sense. The doctrine of the apostle is, I contend, not the exception but the confirmation. When the kingdom of heaven was extended to the Gentiles, the apostles received their commission to baptize "all the nations," as John received his when that kingdom dawned upon the Jews,—and neither commission was restricted to any class. But if other proof of the connexion between the rite and the possession of external privileges be demanded, we recur to a passage which, although we have already cited it for another purpose, is important in illustrating that connexion. The Apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, said to the people, "Repent and



be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord our God shall call." I have already stated that these words were addressed to such as had neither repented, nor received the remission of sins, or at least to those who, as Peter thought, had done neither the one nor the other. It is, however, implied that they and their children, and many afar off, were among those whom the Lord had called, or would call. This calling is therefore some external privilege, of which the impenitent and their children may partake. The reason assigned for their baptism, as well as for their repentance, is, "For the promise is to you;" but if "the promise" to them was a reason for their being baptized, "the promise" to their children was equally a reason for their children's baptism, and "the promise" to all afar off was also a reason for their baptism. Our inference is, that all who have "the promise," have the same reason for being baptized as had the persons to whom Peter originally addressed the words. The pertinence of his address depends entirely upon the fact of the parties who heard it having "the promise."

The only inquiry which appears relevant to the subject is, What was "the promise" to which Peter alluded? Was it the promise of the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost, as some contend, or was it the great promise of the Gospel, that which St. Paul emphatically calls "*the promise*," in contradistinction from the law,—the promise of salvation through Christ Jesus? "The promise" could not refer to the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost; for if it did, how could it be made to the children of the persons addressed, or to many afar off,—to distant nations, or remote posterity? That effusion was not granted to all whom the apostles baptized, much less to all who in the apostolic age were baptized; and there-



fore it could not have been the reason assigned for the baptism of any. But the great evangelical promise is to all the families of the earth; for in Abraham and his seed shall they all be blessed. The covenant of grace is for all nations; and all who have not been cut off on account of unbelief are heirs of its promise. Neither could the apostle, in addressing a promiscuous crowd, have intended that they had the thing promised in the actual and personal interest in its blessing. "As many as the Lord our God should call," should bring under the sound of the Gospel, had the promise of life assured to them, on the terms of the new covenant. Have infants that great promise? has the free gift come upon them to justification of life? That "the promise," the covenant relation of the Gospel, belongs to infants, the little children of the kingdom of God, we can assert with more confidence than we can that it belongs to any who have arrived at an age in which, for aught we know, they may have forfeited their privilege, and made "the promise" to themselves, although they cannot make it to their children, of none effect. But if "the promise" is to infants,—if they are the heirs of the great promise made to Abraham, that in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed,—they have the qualification and the reason for baptism which St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, declared to be sufficient.

It may be said, that this promise applies to repentance, as well as to baptism; that by a similar process of reasoning, it might be proved that all who have it ought to be called upon to repent; and that, therefore, if infants are included in the covenant of promise, they ought also to be included in the duty of repentance. All who have "the promise" ought undoubtedly to repent, if they are able: the reasoning of the apostle is limited only by the ability of the party concerned. Show me that an infant can repent, and from that moment I reply, he ought to

repent, because he has "the promise." The exhortation sustained by "the promise," meets him the first moment he becomes able to repent. Unless a Baptist brother be permitted to assume that an infant cannot be baptized, the argument remains unimpaired. But does he suppose that we shall quietly allow him to assume the whole question in dispute? If he can prove that children *cannot* be baptized, of course he has brought this long controversy to a most triumphant conclusion. I can only say he is very simple to allow himself to be seduced from this commanding position, in which he can silence us whenever he pleases, to the low ground of interminable disputation upon various reasons for and against doing what, by any possibility, never has been done, and never can be done. If we are in the desperate predicament of contending for the propriety of doing a thing which cannot by any means be done, of course all our arguments are worthless; but if children can be baptized, then we say they ought to be baptized, because they have the promise, which St. Peter adduces as good reason and sufficient qualification for baptism. If they cannot, as they cannot repent, of course we are most fairly and effectually driven out of the whole field of controversy.

But it may be said, that these persons were commanded both to repent and to be baptized, and therefore the two things were to be done in the order prescribed. We renew our protest against the doctrine, that if two things are commanded, and persons will not do the one, their disobedience is a reason to justify their not doing the other. But allowing this to pass, what is repentance, that sinners may not only complete it in an hour, but in the same hour have satisfactory evidence of its completion? If only those who have repented are to be baptized, no man ought to apply for baptism until he has good assurance of his repentance. If sin must be first washed away in reality, before it can be emblematically washed away

in baptism, the applicant ought first to know that his sins are forgiven him. But to what a shade, a fleeting and transitory emotion, would this opinion reduce the work of repentance, and the confidence of pardon! Fugitive emotions cannot in a day be distinguished from permanent principles. Faith in Christ may be excited in a moment, but a man is not, without longer trial, to be assured of its reality. The entering in at the strait gate with agony—the taking up the cross of the disciple—must not be regarded as complete with the first emotion of penitence. Three thousand persons were baptized “the same day,” but, upon “the same day,” a deed could not be done with confidence, upon the presumption that the parties were really and heartily Christian. An illusive opinion is prevalent, that there was less probability of delusion in the early age of the Gospel than there is at present; but to many under the mighty preaching of Peter, with the miracles of the Pentecost before their eyes, there must have been great danger of mistaking excitement for religion. Coming over to Christianity was not, in the true sense of the term, becoming Christian. Baptizing three thousand in the first day of their conviction, seems precisely equivalent to baptizing all applicants. What inquiries could have been made? what certain evidence of religion could the parties themselves possess? Whatever may be thought of the time required for immersion, the time of accrediting believers was not yet come, and time for inquiry was not allowed. Why, then, were they baptized? Because, as the apostle said, “the promise” was to them and to their children. Believers’ baptism is not the baptism of thousands, in the first moments of thoughtful inquiry.

Although it may now appear evident that the commission, “Teach all the nations, baptizing them,” is not to be restricted to believers, yet it may be thought uncandid not to admit that the indiscriminate baptism of adults

does not, in itself, afford sufficient proof of the baptism of infants. I admit the objection has some force, although I cannot see any reason for the baptism of an unbeliever, which does not apply to the baptism of an infant. It is, however, possible that both believers' baptism and infant baptism may be alike unscriptural.

To this I reply, besides the specific reasons for the baptism of infants, independent of our interpretation of the commission, and the general reasoning on the phrase, "all the nations," which I have already noticed, there is also an especial reason for not excepting infants from the commission deduced from their recognition as subjects of the kingdom of heaven. To prevent misapprehension I observe, that whatever reasons for infant baptism,—such as the baptism of the households of believers, and the assertion that the children of a believer are not unclean, but holy,—are unaffected by the general or restricted interpretation of the commission, I do not notice in this lecture; because on them I make common cause with my brethren, who baptize only the children of believers. So, a part of the reasoning usually adduced from the conduct of our Lord to little children, as his performing over them a significant ceremony, as good a sacrament as baptism, by the imposition of his hands, and his especial recognition of them as his disciples, I cannot here allege; because these little ones, for aught I can say to the contrary, might have been received as the children of believers.

But the words of our Lord cannot be restricted to those specific children which were brought to him:—"Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me, for of such" (not of those specific children, but of such children) "is the kingdom of God."\* I scarcely think any candid member of the Baptist denomination will think of cavilling about the age of these children. Called by St. Luke *βρέφη*, infants, and taken up in the arms of

\* Matt. xix. 14.



Jesus, they must have been children of a tender age. The expression of our Lord intimates they were too young to have been corrupted by the world. These infants Jesus declared to belong to the kingdom of heaven. As to the remark of some of our Baptist friends, that our Lord, by saying "*of such*," not *of these*, "is the kingdom of heaven," may mean of men and women like these children, it is entirely inconsistent with the connexion, as well as utterly unauthorized by the terms. "*Of such*," clearly means of such children,—of children of the same age and condition,—is the kingdom of heaven. Had our Lord said, *of these*, his words might have been limited to those children specifically; but the words, "*of such*," clearly refer to children generally,—all such children. The words are surely not to be expounded, as meaning that these children were *not* of the kingdom of heaven. So to expound them would be a wonderful instance of making the art and mystery of hermeneutics explain away the obvious sense of a passage. Can any one imagine our Lord is to be understood as saying, Suffer the little children to come unto me; for, although they are not of the kingdom of heaven, yet men and women of similar dispositions are? If these children did not themselves belong to the kingdom of heaven, the words of our Lord assign no reason for suffering them to approach him. He, the King in Zion, publicly acknowledges them as his own subjects, and proclaims their title in the most unequivocal terms.

To prevent mistake, it may be as well to expound the reasoning which is usually founded upon these words, premising that I adopt it, not as an independent argument, but only as a reason which I plead for not excepting infants from the general terms of the commission. It is one thing to say, Here is my reason for baptizing infants; and another to say, Having a commission to baptize "all the nations," here is my reason for not excepting infants upon the plea of their unsuitableness. My

principal reason for adducing the passage, will appear in the subsequent paragraphs. The usual reasoning may be thus expressed :—

If infants are members of the kingdom of heaven, they ought, by the officers of the church, to be recognized in that relation. They are not, indeed, members, of a particular church or Christian society, for that is formed by the voluntary act of Christian men, and every man joins any such society,—any one of several in his neighbourhood,—on his own election, and is received on the approbation of its members. Were he rejected by them, he would not be expelled from the kingdom of God. Were all these particular churches dissolved, the kingdom of God would remain a kingdom which cannot be moved. Who will say there was no kingdom of God in Britain, until Robert Brown gathered a Congregational church? Indeed, men must be members of the general kingdom, before they are eligible to the particular church, if the church be composed only of professing Christians. But how is an infant to be recognized as a member of the kingdom of Christ? Is not baptism the proper recognition of a member of Christ's kingdom? and if we refuse to baptize an infant, do we not virtually disown him, as if he did not belong to us, or to our kingdom? If we refuse to acknowledge a relation which a child has to Christ's kingdom, do we not despise one of these little ones, depreciate its privileges, and act the part of the disciples in refusing to allow parents to bring their children to Christ, in the only way in which infancy can be brought to him? Infants have all the spiritual blessings of the covenant of grace; they are redeemed from death; they are entitled to everlasting life; their interest in Christ is sure and certain, until they forfeit it by wilful transgression. If they cannot have faith, they do not need it; if they cannot have repentance, God requires it not from them. They have a title to heaven, clear and incontest-

able, which no man can abrogate, and no church has a right to gainsay. They are bought with a price, with no corruptible thing, such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ. Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the grace of the Gospel, as well as we? As the infant Jew was a recognized subject of the kingdom of Israel, so every infant is a recognized subject of the kingdom of heaven, and recognized by no less authority than that of the King himself. Shall we refuse to recognize any whom Christ acknowledges? or shall we invent a new ritual of recognition, by which we may, after our own manner, receive an infant in the name of a disciple? Shall we deny the sign of water, where Christ has declared the party to be in possession of all our water signifies? What is baptism more than a sign of the blessings of the evangelical covenant, in which the parties baptized are supposed to be interested? How far they are, or ought to be, personally interested, and what evidence of that interest we ought to demand, may be matter of controversy. I have expressed an opinion that we have no scriptural authority to require any other interest in the covenant than is implied in its general adaptation to the applicants,—others require credible evidence of an actual and present participation of its blessings. But whether the truth be with me in baptizing an applicant as the partaker of “the promise,” or, with others, in baptizing an applicant as a partaker of the thing promised, these children whom our Lord blessed, had a personal interest, not only in “the promise,” but also in the blessings promised. Those blessings being by our Lord declared to belong to them, they were to be permitted to come to him, that he might, by a formal act, recognize them as in full possession. If baptism be such a recognition (what more can it be?) in baptizing a child, I do the very thing by water which Christ did by the imposition of

hands. The substance is the same, although the form be altered.

This is the argument generally adduced from the words of our Lord in favour of infant baptism, and in connexion with all the circumstances it appears to me satisfactory ; but my object is to show the objection which it affords to the introduction of an exceptive clause in the commission, so far as children are concerned. That infants should be included in this commission is not probable, as they cannot comprehend the nature of the service, is the objection which is sometimes felt ; nor is it probable, if we are to reason upon antecedent probabilities, that our Lord would recognize these children as members of the kingdom of God, seeing they knew not their King, nor their privileges, nor their allegiance. But to me, with evidence better than antecedent probabilities, sufficient, at least, to prohibit an exception on the ground of disqualification, if not of itself to establish the right, the language of the Gospels teaches that baptized persons, and no others, are recognized as being in the kingdom of heaven.

The inquiry I suggest is, Would any persons have been recognized as belonging to the kingdom of God, who were unbaptized, not having the sign of water ; or, at most, any persons at the time disqualified for baptism, unfitted to receive the sign of water ? Two passages seem to elucidate the inquiry,—how far they determine it, let the reader consider.

The one is, “ Jesus said, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” I have, in previous lectures, assigned my reasons for interpreting this passage, as a declaration that of the kingdom of God there are the internal grace and the external sign ; the internal grace, called the birth of the Spirit ; and the external sign, called the birth of water. As, beneficially, no man is of the kingdom without the birth of the Spirit, so no one is recognized of the



kingdom, in its visible administration, without the birth of water. If this interpretation be correct, it will follow that only the baptized are to be recognized as belonging to the kingdom of heaven; that Nicodemus, who came to Jesus by night, and therefore, we may suppose, declined the profession of baptism, was not to be acknowledged as belonging to that kingdom; and that, on the other hand, the children whom our Lord recognized as belonging to the kingdom of heaven, were not unbaptized. Had they the internal grace, who should deny them the sign? had they the external sign, we contend for no more. Had they neither the grace nor the sign of the kingdom, how could they belong to it? Born, neither of water nor of the Spirit, how could they have entered it? Or if the expressions be extended to include proper subjects for baptism, as well as the baptized, our conclusion is unaffected.

The other passage, which elucidates our view of the connexion between baptism and the kingdom of heaven, is, "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."\* These words intimate that there was much popular excitement on account of the preaching of John, and afterwards of Christ and his disciples, which terminated in the eager desire of multitudes to be enrolled as subjects of the kingdom of heaven. As it is elsewhere said, "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of heaven is preached, and every man presseth into it." The inquiry arises, In what way did the eager and excited multitude take forcible possession of the kingdom? how did every man press into it? Jesus was addressing the multitude who went out into the wilderness to see John. Had this vast multitude cordially received the Gospel, and so become personally interested in its great salvation? Had *every man*, by faith unfeigned

\* Matt. xi. 12.

and true repentance, pressed along the narrow path, and within the strait gate? Were these crowds, going into the wilderness in search of a sign, converted by the Spirit of grace? The evangelical history, and especially the words of our Lord, addressed to the multitudes who listened to John, prevent us from reaching any such conclusion respecting the men of that generation. They eagerly received baptism from John and the disciples of Jesus; they pressed in great crowds to obtain that sign of the kingdom, and having done nothing more, they are said to have pressed into the kingdom. Such is the interpretation of the words, which we form on referring to the history of John, when all Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the country round Jordan, went to his baptism. But this, it may be said, is only my interpretation. To confirm it, let me produce the comment of Luke upon the words of Matthew. Let the reader compare carefully the words of our Lord, as they are given in the two gospels respectively, and I think he can arrive at no other conclusion. In both gospels our Lord is represented as inquiring of the multitude, "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" In both gospels the discourse of our Lord is found with scarcely a verbal difference respecting the "reed shaken by the wind," the "man in soft clothing," the "prophet and more than a prophet." In Matthew follow the words: "Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist; notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." In Luke the words are: "Among those that are born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he." Seldom in these two gospels do we find so close a parallel,—so exact an identity of words. But in one verse they differ. In Matthew succeed the words: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent

take it by force." Instead of this verse we have in Luke : "And all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God, *being baptized with the baptism of John.*" This passage, in both gospels, is followed by the comparison of the men of that generation, to fickle and perverse children playing in the market-place. Our conclusion is, that Luke supplies the commentary on the words of Matthew ; and that the taking of the kingdom of heaven, in one gospel, is expounded in the other to mean, "being baptized with the baptism of John."

From the two passages, of which one declares that, unless a man be born of water he cannot enter the kingdom of God, and the other, that "the violent take the kingdom of heaven by force," which, expounded by the Holy Ghost, is "being baptized with the baptism of John," I infer, on the one hand, that those who were recognized in the kingdom of God were born of water ; and, on the other, that all who were baptized were recognized as in the kingdom of God. With these passages before us, we have no right to assert that any unbaptized persons were acknowledged as belonging to the kingdom of God, unless some evidence to that effect can be produced from Scripture. All, however, that my argument requires me to ascertain is, with these passages in our hands, as the exponents of the meaning of the words, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," if we have authority, on any supposed ground of their unsuitableness, to exclude children from the baptismal commission.

To notice the argument in favour of including children in this commission, founded upon the Jewish practice of baptizing the children of proselytes with their parents, may be thought necessary for the completeness of this inquiry. This argument, although it is propounded as of great weight and authority by some of the most able of our theologians, I am not disposed to introduce in the present lecture, except for the purpose of enabling the reader to

consider how far I do right in not insisting upon it. In a few words, it may be thus proposed:—If, as Dr. Lightfoot says, “the Jews were as familiar with the baptism of infants as with their circumcision,” the commission to baptize the nations could have been understood in no other sense than as including their children. It has been said, if the commission were, “Go, teach all nations, *circumcising them*,” there could not have been raised a dispute respecting their children, because in that right of initiation the children were always associated with their parents. The commission was given to the apostles, who had known no rites of initiation or of proselytism which belonged to parents separately from their children. They would, therefore, understand the command to baptize as including the children of their proselytes.

On this reasoning, let me observe, whatever weight it may have, it rests ultimately not upon Scripture, but upon a custom of the Jews. Although I am perfectly satisfied that the Jews baptized the children of their proselytes, yet, as the fact is controverted, I would confine the arguments deduced from it to their own place in a separate lecture, and not exalt them to the rank of scriptural evidences. I have, therefore, already considered them on the lower ground of human probability.

Again, although in determining a dispute about the meaning of words, one of the first and most important inquiries is, How would the parties to whom they were originally addressed be likely to understand them? yet this commission is best illustrated by the subsequent conduct of the apostles. Their sense of the words is to be ascertained from their own practice. With the definite information of the Acts before me, I need not explore the sinuosities of the Talmuds. Although the passing circumstances of every fleeting age cast their shadows over words and sentences, and diversify their fugitive colouring, yet the unrestricted sense of the baptismal commission, sus-



tained by the comment of apostolic practice, appears so plain and unequivocal, that I decline the aid of the Rabbi who comes with his rolls of venerable parchment to tell me that his fathers always baptized the children of their proselytes. Elsewhere I have recorded his testimony, but I am not disposed to endorse the gospels with a superscription of Chaldaic authorities.

Our conclusion founded, as we believe, on scriptural premises, and fortified by scriptural precedents, is that the baptismal commission ought to be expounded in its literal and unrestricted sense: "Go, disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I command you." Our commission is to disciple as many as we can, by baptizing and by teaching them. Some may baptize only those who are taught, and others, with as good reason, may teach only those who are baptized. Adhering to the literality of the commission, we admit no exceptions, either in the baptizing or in the teaching, regarding the extent of our ability as the only limit of our obedience.

I must, however, observe, before I leave the commission, that if I have mistaken its terms, and given it too large a construction in conceding baptism to all applicants, it does not follow that the usual specific arguments in favour of infant baptism are affected by my error. Infant baptism has been defended by many who restrict the commission, in its aspect towards adults, to as narrow limits as do the strictest of our Baptist brethren. If faith be required, it can only be required of those who are capable of believing; and the inquiry remains for further consideration, How are those to be regarded of whom faith is not required? John's baptism was unto repentance. Allowing, therefore, for the moment, that the penitent were its proper subjects, was Jesus, of whom repentance could not have been required, an improper subject of that baptism? I have seen

pages of reasoning on John's baptism, which certainly excluded Jesus from the waters of Jordan, but I have not found one of the reasoners consistent enough to deny that John did baptize our blessed Lord.\*

\* Dr. Carson says, p. 175, "John's baptism was a baptism of repentance, in order to remission of sins. It could not then include infants who cannot repent, and whose sins, when they die in infancy, are not remitted on repentance." How then could Jesus have been baptized, who could not repent, and who had no sins to be remitted? Again, p. 176, "It was also a baptism in which sins were confessed . . . . Can infants confess their sins? If not, they were not baptized by John." Could Jesus, we ask, confess his sins, or was he not baptized by John? Whatever may be implied on the part of many who repeat his arguments, Dr. Carson is not involved in this implication. He has a resource, which I am grieved to my heart that he has printed. I have pleased myself with thinking that our only difference with our Baptist brethren respected a ritual observance; and it is no small comfort for a controvertist to know that, if he be in error, no great evangelical doctrine is affected by his conclusion. But were I a Baptist, the point of agreement would be a trifle, a shadow, compared with the difference which I should still maintain with the theology of the Baptists, if Dr. Carson be their expositor. He makes the baptism of Jesus harmonize with his views, by a process to which I advert with emotions which I will not describe. He says of Jesus, (p. 177,) "Though he is himself holy, harmless, and undefiled, yet, as one with us, he is defiled." Again, "By his being one with us, *he can confess himself a sinner*. The oneness of Christ and his people, then, is not a figurative way of speaking; it is a solid and consoling truth." Again, "If we are guilty by being one with Adam, Christ was in like manner guilty by becoming one with us." What can be the meaning of these and similar expressions? Christ confess himself a sinner! and the implication equally applies, he repented of his sins! And this, not a figurative way of speaking, but solid and consoling truth! Dr. Carson's views of original sin are sufficiently manifest in his book; but Christ, *in like manner*, guilty, by becoming one of us! Blessed Jesus, I am the sinner, but thou art the Saviour! The sins are mine, but the sufferings were thine! Thou wast made sin for me, but thou wast never made a sinner! Thou wast baptized; but not confessing thy sins, not unto repentance—not for remission. Perish the whole doctrine of baptisms, immersion and sprinkling, adult and infant, rather than the church should learn to repeat such language! I pass over the obvious inquiry, If Christ, not in figure, but really, were baptized for us, we were really, and not in figure, baptized in him; that is, baptized, not figuratively, before we were born. What then means the anabaptism of believers? They were baptized in the flesh of Christ, confessing their sins by the lips of Christ, completing their repentance by the penitence of Christ in the waters of Jordan. Is Dr. Carson really an Anabaptist? That Christ

We have sometimes to encounter a popular objection. It is said, Why should you baptize such as you would not admit to the Lord's supper? The reply is obvious; because no person has proved that the qualifications for baptism are the same as those for the Lord's supper. We may illustrate the reply in a few words.

1. To assume that the qualifications for two distinct ordinances are the same, is absolutely gratuitous. The parties suitable for each ordinance, must be determined on reference to Scripture alone. In ascertaining the subjects of Christian baptism, we will not hear of any reference to the communicants at the supper, because a reference which proves nothing, can only perplex the argument, however simple and decisive.

2. It will be hereafter our duty to ascertain the persons who have right to the table of the Lord. Until this be done, it is evident that the comparison between the persons suitable for the two ordinances, cannot be fairly instituted. In due time, we shall be ready to compare them.

3. There is just as good reason to say, that only the persons qualified to receive the Lord's supper ought to observe any other emblematical or commemorative institution of the Christian religion. Why does not the Baptist say, that only believers can commemorate the resurrection of Christ by the religious observance of the Lord's day? To keep the Sabbath is as much a profession, and as emblematical an act, as to be baptized. The Sabbath is as

was baptized, representing us, is said with as little Scripture authority, as that he ate, and drank, and slept, representing us. Will English Baptist ministers repeat these assertions in the pulpit? If they do not, how, with a good conscience, dare they circulate the book which contains them? Unless they believe that Christ confessed his sins in Jordan, and repented of them, their difference with Dr. Carson involves considerations far more momentous than any which belong to their controversy with us. If this be the Baptist theology, they may cease from all discussion about open communion; for the two parties do not believe the same gospel. If it be not, the Baptists ought honestly to repudiate the reasoning of Dr. Carson, which so largely rests upon it. This view of Christ is implicated with other parts of his book.

much the believers' day, as is baptism the believers' service. Ought no man to be encouraged to observe the Sabbath, unless he can be brought to the Lord's table? This question involves the propriety of allowing the unregenerate to join in any act of religious worship whatever. It is but another form of the various schemes which restrict all acts of religious service to the saints, and it implies their fundamental error.

4. The Lord's supper, as we believe, and shall endeavour hereafter to prove, is an act of a Christian church in its social character; but baptism is, so far as we can find in Scripture, not the act of the church, but the personal act of the administrator.

5. We will listen to the objection when we hear cited corresponding language of Scripture respecting the two ordinances. When the objector can say, I find it written, "Go, and teach all nations, giving them the Lord's supper;" "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? I give you the Lord's supper unto repentance;" "Repent, and take the Lord's supper every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost;" or, on the other hand, a repudiation of unbelievers' baptism, in the words, "This is not to be baptized;" "Whosoever is baptized unworthily, is baptized unto judgment;" then we shall be ready very seriously to re-consider the question. But, I ask, does not the unscriptural sound of these words, grating harshly upon the Christian ear, refute the objection of our opponents? Besides, the Baptist churches with one voice say of the immersion of unbelievers, This is to be baptized; for having immersed them on false evidence, they do not re-baptize them on their second profession of faith. They admit that the unbeliever is buried with Christ in baptism, while we deny that the unbeliever ever discerned the body of Christ in the supper. So much, at present, may suffice for this objection.



Were we mistaken in our construction of the commission, it seems scarcely possible that we should find in the New Testament no intimation, however slight, of any refusal of baptism, or any delay of baptism, or any hesitation about it, or any sign of baptism after the first opportunity of administering it, or any appearance of an unbaptized person about the precincts of the apostolic churches.

Although the apostolic history extends to about the sixty-second year of our Lord, we have no reference to the baptism of any member of a Christian family, except at the time of the conversion of its head ; no allusion to the existence of unbaptized persons in connexion with Christian families ; no exhortations upon the importance of preparing such for baptism ; no advice in any of the epistles, as to the proper mode of encouraging such to be baptized, if they hesitated ; or of restraining them, if they were too forward. Of unbaptized persons in Christian families the apostles seem to take no notice. The baptisms specified are all of new converts, or of their families. Is it not remarkable, if a large proportion of unbaptized persons attended the ministry of the Gospel, as they must have done if the families of the saints were unbaptized, that not the slightest intimation is anywhere to be found respecting the baptism of any of this interesting class of persons, or respecting their preparation for that important solemnity ? The argument is indirect, but none the less conclusive. Our brethren do not maintain the doctrine of reserve ; and, therefore, they will allow that these unbaptized persons were freely admitted to the services of the church, or rather, were required by their parents to attend the administration of Divine ordinances.

In the records of the apostolic age, and in the writings of the succeeding centuries, no contrast is more remarkable than in the former, the absence of all allusion to the unbaptized ; and, in the latter, the continual reference to them. The most attentive student of the apostolic age can

never find an unbaptized catechumen : the most cursory reader of the succeeding centuries perpetually meets with crowds. Where was the catechumen of the apostolic age,—the unbaptized youth under religious instruction ? No one can tell,—not a shadow of the institute appears. From the apostolic documents we have no reason to suppose that any such persons existed. What was a catechumen of the succeeding centuries ? With no person is the reader of church history more familiar. We know his position, his character, his studies, his course, his school, his instructions, his teacher. How are we to account for the difference ? On the hypothesis which postpones baptism until there be satisfactory evidence of conversion, the unbaptized catechumens must have been more numerous in the apostolic age than in succeeding centuries ; for, in addition to the persons from the world, in their noviciate, preparing for baptism, there must have been the numerous children of believers ; and yet to any of them, either in the historical records, or the affectionate letters of Scripture, there is not the slightest allusion.

If the unbaptized were detained in the precincts of the primitive churches, we have light enough from Scripture to discern their movements. We see strangers coming in crowds, whom the apostles have never seen before ; and on the day they make their first appearance, they are, without hesitation, immediately baptized. We see a magician of Samaria, a courtly treasurer from Ethiopia, a persecutor from the Sanhedrim ; and they are straightway, without scruple, baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. We see some bringing their families with them ; and with them, on the first day of their belief, their families are baptized. There are no unbaptized catechumens, so far as living man can find, nor any indication of their presence ; but if there are no unbaptized persons under instruction, the inquiry arises, When, in the apostolic churches, were persons baptized ? The reply is, in every

instance in which the time can be ascertained, On the very first opportunity after they heard the Gospel. So there could have been no catechumens waiting for baptism; and so we account for the absence of any the slightest reference to them in the apostolical writings.

To the uninspired testimony of ecclesiastical history, respecting the proper construction of the baptismal commission, we have made no appeal; because we consider it to be of little value in the distinctness of our Lord's own words, unnecessary in the evidence of the apostolic practice, and unimportant, compared with the intimations of the apostolic writings. That there was some contrariety in the administration of baptism, between the apostolic practice and the discipline of the ancient church at the earliest subsequent time in which it can be ascertained, is undeniable; and, therefore, much caution is necessary in tracing the true doctrine as it floats down the stream of time, gathering its earthly accretions from various sources, through every century; now from the cabalistic Jew, now from the Oriental mystic, now from the Platonic school, and now from the lonely monastery. It is desirable to ascertain, if possible, the tendency and direction which the process of corruption assumes; and in early church history it appears not in relaxed, but in severe discipline; not in extending, but in restricting the baptismal commission, of which we find evidence in the unscriptural institution of the catechumenical school. Instead of the apostolic practice of baptizing straightway, years were expended in a laborious preparation and severe noviciate. The references of Scripture to speedy baptism, were early noticed as exceptions, and peculiarities, and things liable to abuse. Warnings against hastening to baptism were soon uttered in the church. A gloss on the baptism of the eunuch, which made faith indispensable, was forged, and it would seem, as early as the time of Irenæus. Sins after baptism were invested with indescribable terror. The severe Ter-

tullian would have excluded unmarried people, as well as little children, from the water of the baptistery. Yet, with this opposing tendency, the voice of the ancient church is, with scarcely an exception, whenever it can be distinctly ascertained, in favour of infant baptism.

I turn over the page of ecclesiastical history, not to find infallible or decisive authority in favour of infant baptism, but to show that whatever were its errors, we have on this point nothing to fear from its testimony, were it as authoritative and sacred as Catholic writers commonly represent it. Although ecclesiastical tradition by an opposing testimony can do no great injury, am I on that account precluded from saying, let what will be thought of the trine immersion, it is certainly with us, so far as infants are concerned? The evidence, whatever be its virtue, and of that let our opponents decide, for I am not very solicitous upon the subject, is, in this particular, confirmatory of the position which we have taken. When, however, I say, let our opponents decide, I have reason for adding, let them not, whatever be their opinion of ancient testimony, zealously decry it when speaking of infant baptism, and as zealously laud it when speaking of immersion. The position which I advance has been long before the world, but I do not believe it has ever been controverted; our Baptist friends can find no clear and certain instance of any child of parents, who were professedly Christian\* at his birth, being baptized in adult age, or of any such child being among the catechumens, or, in short, of any such child being unbaptized in the time of his youth, during the first

\* By professedly Christian, I must be understood as meaning baptized, because there were some unbaptized persons who frequented parts of the church service, intending, before death, to be baptized, but deferring their baptism from various motives; some unwilling to assume the yoke of discipline to which their baptism would oblige them, others imagining that all sins previously committed would be washed away in the baptistery, while those committed after baptism would be more troublesome if not unpardonable.



half of the Christian era; nor do I confine them to the catholic church under its various patriarchs and its different branches, spread over the world, Latin, Greek, Syrian, and Coptic; but extending the inquiry to all heretics and schismatics of all kinds whatsoever, who practised Christian baptism at all, I ask them to find a solitary Baptist in their sense of the word, a clear, well-defined, honest-looking, plain-spoken Baptist like themselves, down to the close of the first millennium of the Christian faith. And if amidst all the varied shades of Christian antiquity, passing in review over the wide field of vision, not one, Oriental or Western, Catholic or Heretic, Millenarian or Anti-Millenarian, Novatian or Donatist, Augustinian or Pelagian, Homoousian or Homoiousian, cleric or layman, canonist or divine, monastic or secular, in all their fierce controversies and interminable schisms and endless varieties of opinion, not one can be seen in any remote corner of the church, or outer court of it, doing as they do, not one making to them any certain sign of recognition, our Baptist brethren may, if they please, think little of the opinions of antiquity, (and I do not think very much of them,) yet they should speak with a softer voice of the multitude of the ancient immersionists, and of the paucity and dishonour of the clinics, as they themselves travel an unfrequented road in which it is not easy to discover a single vestige of a solitary traveller for nigh a thousand years. Of the immersionists of that thousand years were there producible in ever so remote a cell of the church, or out of it, were it only a ragged anchorite in his cave, or a poor Donatist in his schism, or even an Arian in his heresy, some solitary Christian who, being baptized himself, did not baptize his own children, he might supply an excuse for the propensity to plead so confidently the ancient and general practice of immersion. If the Baptists know a brother of old times, let them tell us his name and his esidence, the church or the heresy to which he belonged,

that we may converse with him, and inquire where he learned his peculiarity, and what he means by its assumption. A dozen or more have been mentioned, but they will not bear examination, for on inquiry most of them appear to have been heathen or unbaptized themselves when their children were born. The instance which has about it the fairest appearance of probability is the father of Gregory Nazianzen. At first sight that venerable bishop looks something like a Baptist, but, upon closer examination, he speaks so ambiguously that nothing certain can be understood from his answers respecting his being a Christian or a fire-worshipper at the birth of his son. As to the ancient British church being baptistical before the heptarchy, as a tract widely circulated has lately re-asserted, we should have supposed that the testimony of Pelagius, himself a Briton, would have been sufficient to determine that question, since in his letter of apology, addressed to Innocent I., in repudiating the charge brought against him of not baptizing infants, he says, although Dr. Gill thought him a liar for saying so, or Augustine for so reporting him, that he had never heard of any impious heretic who held that opinion respecting little children. As to the shades which some of our friends say they can see, towards the close of the millennium, of Baptists performing their mystic rites upon believers in the secluded vales of Piedmont, they are amidst the darkness of that time too indistinct for us to discern; but even if they could be seen clearly, we should only have to limit the period to some eight or nine, instead of ten centuries. But, as it is, we abide by the millennium, and we ask, Is it not extraordinary, that when almost all possible varieties of opinion respecting baptism may be found, no trace of the apostolic practice can be discerned for so many centuries in any household of the faithful throughout the world? Show me the unbaptized man or woman, boy or girl, born of baptized parents.

To glance at the opinions of ancient Christians and heretics, so far as they can be gathered from existing documents as a matter of history rather than of authority, is all we can at present attempt, in a very cursory manner, at the conclusion of this lecture.

From Cyprian downwards there is not the shadow of a controversy. The judgment of the martyr of Carthage, and of the sixty and six bishops of the neighbouring towns, assembled in convocation with him upon the case submitted to them, "Whether baptism should be administered uniformly on the eighth day," is quite sufficient to prove the practice of the African church in the middle of the third century.\* In this council, within about one hundred and fifty years of the death of the last apostle, there being no dispute whatever about infant baptism, they determined that there was no necessity for confining the administration to the eighth day. Subsequent to this date, there is no opportunity to raise a doubt. The language of Ambrose in Italy, of Chrysostom in Greece, of Jerome in Palestine, of Augustine in Africa, and of many other Fathers as well as councils, is clear and conclusive in proving the prevalence of infant baptism throughout all Christendom. With the views which these men held, and others like them, we may be sure that amidst the keen warfare, unsparingly waged with heretics, if they had known of any who had renounced the baptism of infants, they would certainly have noticed the error, and probably have cast no inconsiderable amount of vituperation upon the delinquents. To blow fierce blasts of recrimination is no modern accomplishment of polemical theology. The only writer who, subsequent to the time of Cyprian, occasions any difficulty, is Gregory Nazianzen, who recommends that children be baptized when they are about three years of age.

Contemporary with Cyprian, though having died a few

\* A.D. 253. See Epistle.

years earlier, was Origen, who, having presided with great reputation in the catechetical school of Alexandria, and afterwards having taught with equal renown at Cæsarea, may be considered as representing the opinions prevalent in Egypt and Palestine. He has left us, in his numerous writings, testimonies quite as decisive as that of the African bishops. Nothing can be plainer than the citations as we have them, although the most important and express are found in Latin translations of lost originals. He says, "Infants are, by the usage of the church, baptized;"\* and again, "Because by the sacrament of baptism, the corruption of their birth is removed, infants are baptized;"† and again, "The church has received a tradition from the apostles to give baptism to infants."‡ Baptist writers have taken exception against the passages, as being translations, and have urged that the translators are not to be trusted, and especially Rufinus, as he acknowledges he changed or omitted whatever was not reputed orthodox. But the passages cited coincide with each other, and harmonize with their connexion; there could have been no inducement to misrepresent a question on which, at the time of the translator there was no controversy; in the age of Rufinus infant baptism was incontrovertibly orthodox; according to his own account he omitted, but did not falsify; and the doctrine is found in the translation of Jerome as well as of Rufinus.§ At any rate, all the evidence which can be obtained from Origen is decidedly in favour of infant baptism; and as to the lost originals, we can only tell what they were by the existing versions. On all other questions, where there is no reason to suspect mutilation, these versions are readily received, as giving a general view of the opinions of the author. What Baptist, for instance, disputes the various citations

\* Homil. 8, in Levit. c. xii.

+ Homil. in Lucam, xiv.

† Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, lib. v.

§ As in Jerome's translation of the Homilies on Luke, containing one of the most decided testimonies.



from them, which Lardner adduces as evidence of the genuineness of the books of Scripture? That Origen has been corrupted by his translators is undeniable, but these passages are sustained by corroborating evidence.\*

On ascending towards the apostles, both parties may not be unwilling to appeal to Tertullian; we, as to a witness of the usage of the church; the Baptists, as to a patron, though a strange one, of anti-pædo-baptism. The passage which has occasioned so much dispute is to be found in his tract "de Baptismo" (c. 18). Having referred to the baptism of the eunuch and that of Saul, and endeavoured to account for the haste with which they were administered, evidently with no favourable feeling, he says, "the delaying of baptism is more advantageous according to the condition, the disposition, and the age of every person, and especially with regard to children. For why is it needful, if the case be not extremely urgent, that their sponsors should be brought into danger? The Lord, indeed, saith, Forbid them not to come unto me. Let them come when they are advancing in youth,—let them come when they learn whither they are going,—let them be made Christians when they can know Christ. Why does this innocent age hasten to the remission of sins? With no less reason unmarried persons should be induced to delay, who are exposed to temptation, both virgins, arriving at maturity, and widows on account of their singleness,† until they either marry or be confirmed in continence. Those who understand the weight of baptism, would rather fear the reception than the postponement of it. Faith uninjured is sure of salvation." On this important passage, it is to be regretted that Dr. Kaye offers no illustration. Although this tract was written (as is generally thought) while Ter-

\* See Appendix C.

† I have preferred the conjectural reading *vacalionem*, to the manuscript *ragationem*, as it furnishes a better sense, and as the letters *g* and *c* are so frequently interchanged in manuscripts.

tullian continued in the communion of the Catholic church, yet the severity of his disposition, and his determination to force a principle or opinion to the extreme, which appear so often in his writings, are very manifest in this passage. His principle in the administration of baptism was, as he had just cited the passage, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine." He evidently regarded the obligations of the rite so weighty, its responsibility so great, and the sins committed after it so aggravated, that, as he says, its attainment was more to be feared than its procrastination. In his esteem, baptism unspotted by subsequent sin, the *fides integra* was certain of salvation. Very much afraid lest from the instances of baptism mentioned in Scripture, men should be too hastily admitted to the solemnities of that great sacrament, he looks on all sides for obstacles. In early life he maintained that crimes committed after baptism could only once be pardoned, and afterwards that there was no place of repentance.\* Growing more severe as he advanced, he subsequently denied that the more flagrant crimes could be pardoned at all.† We have then before us the words of a man whose opinion was, that baptism was an awful solemnity to be long deferred, and whose temperament would never allow him to hesitate in following his opinions wherever they might lead him, through all their consequences.

We learn from the passage that in his age, and when this tract was written, which, as it is among his earlier works, we may place in the close of the second century, the baptism of infants was a prevalent usage in the church. As a witness of the practice he is unexceptionable, and none the less so because he looked upon it with dislike. If it had been of recent origin in his time, (and he lived but a century from the apostles,) in his angry mood he would certainly have exposed its novelty. This passage

\* De Pœnitentia, c. 7, 8, 9.

+ De Pudicitia, c. 5.

appears to me by far the most important which ecclesiastical antiquity supplies on the subject of infant baptism. We have a man of the second century opposing the practice of the church, and we anxiously inquire whether in so doing he is acting in accordance with scriptural principles? What are the grounds of his opposition? That baptism is to be dreaded rather than to be desired; that after it the remission of sins becomes almost unattainable; that if unstained by subsequent crime it assures eternal life. Are these scriptural reasons? Is this old Anti-pædobaptist a defender or a corrupter of the scriptural doctrine? His objections are not historical but doctrinal, and his doctrine is false. Our Baptist friends often cite his opinions. If they are valuable, why not cite them also in opposition to the baptism of virgins and widows? Here they are acknowledged to be worth nothing, but they are only a modification of his favourite principle, the danger of premature baptism, and they are of the same authority in the one instance, as in the other. The most important fact, however, which is here disclosed, is the disposition to delay baptism, contrary to the apostolic practice. We have already noticed the anti-scriptural character of the catechumenical institution. We find in the earliest Fathers the rise of the principle on which it grew, in their unscriptural dread of early baptism. Tertullian, in the passage immediately preceding that which we are considering, betrays his fear, lest the sudden baptism of the eunuch and of Saul should be adopted as precedents; and, therefore, he takes care to delineate all the specialities of those instances. This disposition in deferring baptism we find afterwards becoming so prevalent, that multitudes awaited the emergency of mortal sickness. Tertullian is an early index, and we do well to observe him. The argument is, while every pretext was sought for the delay of baptism, and the difficulty and hardship of a subsequent absolution were generally believed, infant baptism existed in contrariety to

the corruptions of the age, and not in concurrence with them. This is, I think, a most important point to ascertain; and although Tertullian is the first and most important witness, the evidence accumulates prodigiously as we descend through the third and fourth century. In front of the porch of every church, we encounter the crowds of catechumens, slowly passing their several grades of audientes, and genuflectentes, and competentes, taught everywhere to regard baptism as an awful solemnity, since after it all sins would become fearfully aggravated, if not absolutely unpardonable. Amidst such feelings, infant baptism, we believe, could not have risen in the church, although as an ancient and apostolic tradition, it retained its place throughout all the provinces of Christendom. Tertullian, tenacious of an unscriptural theory, opposed the prevalent usage of the church, and he does not seem to have been a man who would have scrupled to dispute with an apostle, if an apostle had said anything in contradiction to his opinions. In this very passage he disputes with our Lord himself, who is cited as saying, Do not forbid little children to come unto me. Differing from his Baptist admirers, he admits that our Lord is speaking of their baptism, as is evident from his reply. Let them come when they have grown to mature age; let them be made Christians, (or be baptized,) when they can know Christ, that is, when they are no longer little children. According to his own understanding of the words, his reply is a direct contradiction of our Lord.

He seems to have thought, that nothing was so much to be feared as hasty baptism; nothing so dreadful as the consequences of sin after the reception of that solemn rite. I ask whether it was not natural that he should look with a censorious eye upon the baptism of infants? Well might he lament the cruel sacrifice of their innocent age. At best, there remained for them in subsequent years, but one place of repentance, but one baptism of tears, or of



blood. Scarcely, as he thought, could a baptized child hope to escape the unpardonable sin. The most probable conclusion I can form from this passage is, that the persons who practised infant baptism, did not hold the severe doctrine of Tertullian, and, therefore, presented their infants at the font; while Tertullian, and possibly others who thought as he did, remonstrated on account of the terrible jeopardy in which they placed the lives of their little ones.\* If I thought sin unpardonable after baptism, how could I baptize an infant?

But after all, Tertullian was no Baptist in the modern acceptation of the term. In his esteem, the baptism of an infant was no vain ceremony, no idle, unauthorized, invalid form. On account of its fearful validity, he dreaded its administration. The baptism, in his opinion, would prove a great blessing, if only the child should preserve its faith uncorrupt, and its virtue pure and unimpaired. When, therefore, I said, our Baptist friends could not find a man, in the early ages of the church, making signals of recognition to them, I made no exception for this stern African. His gloomy, frowning shade stands as remote from them as from us; and if he mutters an execration upon our infants, he prohibits in a fiercer tone their virgins and widows being baptized, while as to themselves, he blesses them not at all, nor curses them at all. The usage of his age is with us; the opinions of the man are not with them. They ought either to disclaim his authority, or to submit to it.

\* The mention of sponsors suggests the important inquiry, whether, after all the disputation upon this passage, it has any reference whatever to the children of Christians. For such children were there, in this time, any sponsors, except the parents? Would the parents at so early an age have been called by that name? We know that at an early period orphans, foundlings, children of the poor and of slaves, were presented for baptism by Christians, who, as their sponsors, undertook the charge of their education. Is it not probable that such children were intended? If they were, the opinion of Tertullian has no connexion with the argument. If they were not, the considerations suggested in the lecture remain unimpaired.

Previously to the age of Tertullian, our information on this, as on every other subject of ecclesiastical history, is exceedingly defective. The few relics of earlier writers contain but passing references to baptism, but in these references there is not an expression, not a hint, we will venture to assert, in the slightest degree favourable to the opinions of the Baptists. I mention this, because some learned men, without adducing any authority, have stated as their opinion, that infant baptism was not practised until the middle, or towards the close of the second century, as they have also maintained, that in a part of that time the Lord's Supper was only the recognition of Christ in the ordinary daily meal. By what process they have arrived at their conclusions, they have not informed us. Much as we respect their learning, we still should like to know the authority by which they support their opinions. If any passages exist in writers of that remote age, from which they derive either the one opinion or the other, none are more competent than themselves, to produce and illustrate such authorities; but if they have no such testimony, they will permit us to say, that even their ecclesiastical lore is no substitute for the evidence of testimony which, if they have it, they can so easily produce. The little we have, the writers on our side have been ever ready to submit to public examination.

Irenæus, within a hundred years of the death of the apostles, says of Jesus, "He came to save all persons by himself,—all, I say, who by him are regenerated to God,—infants, and little ones, and children, and young, and old."\* Infants, as distinguished from little children, are here said to be regenerated; and we maintain that, according to the current language of that age, a regenerated infant means a baptized infant. Irenæus himself, as we

\* *Omnes enim venit per semet ipsum salvare; omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et juvenes, et seniores.*—Lib. ii. c. 39.

have seen, undoubtedly calls baptism regeneration, as do Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria,\* and other ecclesiastical writers immediately after him. Speaking of the baptismal commission, he says, in a passage we have cited in the fifth lecture, "Committing to his disciples the power of regeneration, he said, Go and teach all nations, baptizing them;"† and again, where we have his words in their original Greek, he speaks of the Valentinians being sent by the devil for the denial of the baptism of the regeneration to God.‡ The baptisms of the heathen are often called their regeneration, and even the baptism of Jesus is called his regeneration. Besides, regeneration in the sense of repentance is not applicable to an infant.§

Justin Martyr, on the verge of the apostolic age, says, "Many men and women amongst us, sixty and seventy years old, were discipled to Christ in their childhood." These men and women, therefore, were discipled in the age of the apostles. As the Greek word is that which is employed in the commission of our Lord, "disciple all nations;" and as Justin was a native of Samaria, his language has been considered as most suitable to illustrate the expressions of the New Testament. As our Lord commands to disciple by baptizing, it has been inferred that these aged persons were, in their childhood, discipled by being baptized in the time of the apostles.

Polycarp, according to Irenæus the disciple of John, as we read in the relation of his martyrdom, addressed to the church at Smyrna, said to the proconsul, when commanded to deny Christ, "Eighty and six years have I been his servant, and he has never wronged me."|| Some refer

\* Tert. De Baptismo, c. 5. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. + Lib. iii. c. 19.

† Εἰς ἐξάρτησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγενέσεως.—Lib. i. c. 18.

§ "In Irenæus, the regeneration and baptism are intimately connected, and it would be difficult for one to imagine anything else than baptism as meant by regeneration, when used in reference to this age."—Neander's History, translated by Rose, i. 361.

|| De S. Polycarpi Martyrio, c. ix.

these years to his office, others to his conversion; but so great a length of time seems most naturally to include his life, and so it has been thought, that from infancy, he was enrolled in the kingdom of Christ by baptism. I do not, indeed, adduce this saying of the venerable martyr as of any weight in the controversy, for its meaning is too uncertain to assist us; but it forms a pleasing termination of our inquiry, amidst the shades of ecclesiastical history, from which we gladly emerge to the clear and certain light of revelation.

The summary of our argument may be expressed in the following particulars. We have seen that the commission of our Lord was, to disciple all nations, baptizing them,—thus employing the most unrestricted terms; that no restriction of the terms to any class of persons, can be found in any part of the New Testament; that the unrestricted commission was given to the Jews, whose religious rites of discipling were uniformly administered to the children of proselytes, together with the parents; that Jesus had previously taught them that little children were members of his kingdom, into which none could enter without being born of water, and of which all the baptized by John were members; that the apostles baptized persons whom they had not previously seen, and of whom they had previously heard nothing, and on the very day in which those persons first heard the Gospel; that they and their companions exhorted the impenitent to be baptized, and baptized some whose unfitness through ignorance, if faith or piety had been a qualification, might have been easily detected; that they baptized several families on the day in which their heads became converts; that no qualification for baptism is prescribed in Scripture, and, therefore, no man has a right to impose one; that neither the refusal, nor the delay of baptism, can be justified by any scriptural example; that a ceremonial holiness is ascribed to the Gentiles under the Gospel, similar to that which



under the law was ascribed to the Jews, whose children, born to the privilege, were acknowledged by the appropriate sign of their covenant; that for a thousand years, no person of any party among Christians can be found not having received baptism in infancy, if his parents were themselves baptized; and that baptism restricted to believers is a practice rigidly and consistently observed by no sect, and for which no warrant of Scripture can be offered, except a doubtful reading, or rather a scandalous forgery.

## APPENDIX TO LECTURE VII.

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### A. Page 18.

#### ON THREE PASSAGES OFTEN CITED AS GENUINE IN THE BAPTIST CONTROVERSY.

IN determining the evidence of the genuineness of Acts viii. 37—“And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest : and he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God”—next to its early appearance in Irenæus and the Latin Fathers, the value of the Codex Laudianus is the most important consideration, as this is the only manuscript in uncial characters in which it is found. This Codex, bequeathed by Archbishop Laud, from whom it derives its name, to the University of Oxford, is a Latino-Greek manuscript, the Latin occupying the unusual place of the first column ; of which the fac-simile has been beautifully printed by Hearne. It contains only the Acts of the Apostles, and has some peculiar readings which often coincide with the old Italic version and the Latin Fathers. Of this manuscript Mr. Horne says, “With regard to its date,—Mr. Astle refers it to the beginning of the fifth century ; Griesbach to the seventh or eighth, and Mr. Hearne to the eighth century. But, from the shape of the letters and other circumstances, Bishop Marsh pronounces it to be less ancient than the Codex Bezaë, which was written in the fifth century. Probably the seventh century may be assigned as the date of the Codex Laudianus. This manuscript is of great value : Michaelis pronounces it to be indispensable to every one who would examine the important question, whether the Codices Græco-Latini have been corrupted from the Latin ; and adds, that it was this manuscript which convinced him that this charge was without foundation.” On the other hand, Wetstein says, “Istud vero magis observari meretur, quod iste Codex, agnoscente etiam

Millio, egregie, ut reliqui omnes in Ecclesiis occidentis exarati, interpolatus est. Hinc ortæ sunt plurimæ illæ additiones huic Codici cum sola Italica, ut ex Cantabrigiensi, Cypriano, Irenæo, et Lucifero constat, communes, ita tamen, ut non Latina ex Græcis, sed Græca ex Latinis præpostere formata sint.”

Griesbach considers that the suspicions of this manuscript Latinizing have been sufficiently refuted by Michaelis and Woide. See his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. ii. p. 183.

Considering this manuscript in the most favourable light, its authority, especially in favour of a reading corresponding with the Latin versions, is not to be opposed to the testimony of the ancient and valuable manuscripts which do not contain the passage, as especially the Alexandrine, the Vatican, and the Ephrem.\* The verse probably owes its origin to the manifest inconsistency between the apostolic practice of immediate baptism and the ecclesiastical institution of the catechumens. The eighth rule of Griesbach for discriminating various readings is applicable in this instance: “Inter plures unius loci lectiones ea pro suspecta merito habetur, quæ orthodoxorum dogmatibus manifeste præ cæteris favet.” Of the versions, it is not in the ancient Syriac nor in the principal Oriental versions. It is found in the Latin versions, and is cited by Irenæus as well as by Cyprian, Pacian, and other Latin Fathers. Indeed, the authority of the verse is chiefly Latin in opposition to Greek and Oriental testimony, and it is therefore rejected in the critical editions of the New Testament.

Another doubtful reading, cited in this controversy, occurs in Acts ii. 41. “Then they that *gladly* received his word were baptized.” The word *ἀσμένως*, gladly, is marked by Griesbach as probably, though not certainly, an interpolation. It is wanting in the Alexandrine, the Vatican, the Ephrem, and the Cambridge Manuscript, as well as in several ancient versions. Of the Uncial MSS. supported only by the Codex Laudianus, it cannot be any authority on a controverted question. All who received the word of Peter were baptized, but that they received it *gladly* is not to be proved by this text.

A more important text is Mark xvi. 16. “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.” This verse is of course included in the dispute respecting the genuineness of the last thirteen verses of Mark’s Gospel. This paragraph is found in most of the existing

\* The Codex Bezae is mutilated in this part. The only other uncial manuscript of the Acts, preserved in the library of the Augustinian monastery at Rome, rejects the verse. Of the cursive manuscripts, the preponderance in value is decidedly opposed to it

MSS., and if we had no other evidence, the preponderance of existing authority would be unquestionably and decidedly in its favour. But, according to Eusebius, almost all the copies of Mark's Gospel, including the most accurate, ended with the words which now close the eighth verse.\* In this assertion he is confirmed by Gregory of Nyssa† and Jerome.‡

Serious objections on the ground of internal evidence have been alleged against the genuineness of this paragraph. Words and phrases occur unlike those of Mark and of the apostolic age. With such doubt upon the passage no use ought to be made of it in controversy. Our baptist brethren have no right to adduce this passage as of indubitable authority. Admitting its authority, it is, as I have endeavoured to show in the Lecture, far from conclusive on the question of believers' baptism. See Norton on the Genuineness of the Gospels, Vol. I, p. 216.

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### B. Page 23.

#### ON THE REMARKS OF DR. CARSON, SO FAR AS THEY AFFECT THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BAPTISMAL COMMISSION.

Dr. Carson is, in the reviews of his brethren, pronounced not so great on "the subjects" as on "the mode" of baptism. It may appear presumption in a man of another party to give an opinion on the comparative merits of the two parts of his work, but the latter part contains some illustrations of Divine truth which appear to me peculiarly valuable, and for which I offer him my cordial and grateful acknowledgements. In one respect, I think, he has most fairly and honourably, as distinguished from controvertists on both sides, selected the true ground of discussion in making the commission given by our Lord, the great and paramount authority by which the question in dispute must be chiefly decided. Many writers scarcely advert to the words of the commission, but amuse their readers with analogies and assumptions of various kinds. Dr. Carson says of the commission, "Here I stand entrenched, and I defy the ingenuity of earth and hell to drive me from my position." p. 170. While I differ most widely from his interpretation, I adopt his principle, that the commission is our great law of baptism, and to its plain and grammatical sense all other arguments must be subser-

\* *Questiones ad Marinum*, p. 61, 62. † *Orat. ii. in Christi Resurrect.*

‡ *Ad Hedibiam, de Questionibus.*



vient. Tell us the meaning of the word *them* in the commission, and so far as I am concerned the controversy is settled, let what will become of believers' baptism on the one hand, or of household baptism on the other.

As I have insisted at so much length in the lecture upon the unlimited extent of the commission, I may, without incurring the charge of treating Dr. Carson disrespectfully, compress into a few paragraphs my objections to his reasoning on the same subject. I object, first, that his interpretation of the commission avowedly rests upon an assumption of the question in dispute; and secondly, that his arguments deduced from it, as against infant baptism, are of so little importance in his own estimation as to be virtually and practically repudiated by himself, as well as by his brethren.

Let us observe what he assumes as the foundation, and how he reasons in raising the superstructure.

First. His interpretation of the commission avowedly rests upon an assumption of the whole question in dispute. Take the illustration from p. 255, on which it is said, "The phraseology, Disciple all nations, baptizing them, necessarily confines the baptism to the persons who shall be discipled. The antecedent to the pronoun is the word disciples, taken, as grammarians speak, out of the verb disciple." We say the antecedent is "all the nations," and with those words before our eyes, are we to be persuaded by a dictum of grammarians, as in default of a proper antecedent, to search for it implicated in the verb? Were there no antecedent in the passage, it would be necessary to resort to grammatical figure and contrivance; but having one plainly before us we steadily adhere to it. Here, to adopt Dr. Carson's words, "we stand entrenched" against those terrene and subterranean ingenuities which he so magniloquently defies. The question is, Why reject the antecedent—"all the nations"? The answer is—"The very nature of the thing requires this; it is obviously only disciples that they could baptize." (p. 255.) Dr. Carson thus rests avowedly upon the obvious "nature of the thing;" and in so doing assumes the whole question in dispute. We say, "the nature of the thing" does not require it. It is not "obviously only disciples that they could baptize." On this assumption his argument reposes; and Dr. Carson might just as well have assumed at once in so many words, "the nature of the thing" requires Pædobaptists to retract, as "it is obviously only" Baptists who are right. This would be only saying the same thing in other and plainer terms. He adds, "Unbelievers would not submit to baptism." We reply, many of them did "submit to baptism:" and if Dr. Carson be right,

many believers, Presbyterians, Independents, and even his beloved Episcopalians, who have, in his opinion, richer and clearer views of the Gospel than heretical Dissenters, will not "submit to baptism."

Dr. Carson had appealed to the words recorded in Mark—"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved;" and his opponent replies, "These words contain no command to baptize at all, they are a promise to baptized believers." Dr. Carson rejoins,—"I maintain that baptism is expressly enjoined upon believers in this passage." The expression, however, is diluted into an implication as he proceeds: but even were this a command to believers, it would decide nothing in this controversy, for all admit that "believers ought to be baptized." But what saith Dr. Carson to the assertion, that the words in Mark are a promise and not a command? (p. 256.)—"I have disproved this assertion; I have shown it to be unworthy of a scholar and a Christian. It is so utterly unscholar-like that, had not the author himself developed his meaning, I should have ascribed it to him with great hesitation." The paragraph proceeds in the same characteristic manner to the close. "Does Mr. Bickersteth countenance such an effort to make void the law of God? Is he the man who thus labours to bring darkness out of light? Are the rites of a favourite church to be supported by trampling under foot the commandments of God?" Another paragraph, in the same style, succeeds, in which, from certain tenets of his opponent, "he turns away as from the ravings of insanity," and "sees no more sanity" in the pretensions of these Pædo-baptists than in the answers of an idiot who professed to have studied Greek in the moon. The reader will charitably suppose that great destitution of argument must have compelled a good man, sorely against his nature, to resort to such vile declamation; and I can happily assure him that he may without scruple allow his charity the broadest latitude, for I have sought through the book in vain for any exegetical reason, or any reason at all, for the interpretation of the commission in the restricted sense, which does not assume at the outset "the insanity," or something like it, of Pædo-baptists.

But allowing Dr. Carson to assume the truth of his exposition of the baptismal commission, we observe,

II. The arguments deduced from it as against infant baptism, are of so little importance in his own estimation, as to be virtually and practically repudiated by himself as well as by his brethren.

In this statement I proceed upon the understanding that Dr. Carson concurs in the practice, universally prevalent in Baptist churches, of not re-baptizing on a second profession, or on their

re-admission to communion, such persons as have been previously baptized on a false profession of faith. If he does re-baptize such persons, my statement must stand thus corrected. His arguments are of so little importance as to be virtually and practically repudiated, not by himself but by all his brethren. Nor do I mean to insinuate that Dr. Carson flourishes in print with arguments which in private he avowedly rejects. I only say he practically rejects them, for they are as directly opposed to the theory of the Baptists as they are to our own.

It is no answer to say, they baptize in the confidence of the truth of the profession. The inquiry is, if only believers *can* be baptized with Christian baptism, as Dr. Carson repeatedly asserts; and if all believers *ought* to be baptized, as he distinctly maintains, why does he not baptize on a second profession all such as have been manifestly, or even on their own confession, baptized in unbelief? If he reply he has not the opportunity, I then appeal to the acknowledged principles and recognized practice of Baptist churches generally. But let us hear his own arguments.

I. (Page 169.) "I will risk the credit of my understanding on my success in showing that, *according to this commission*, believers only are to be baptized. It is *impossible* that a command to baptize believers, can be extended to include *any* but believers. We need not say that this cannot be done by inference; I say it cannot be done by the most express command or explanation. No command, no explanation, can bring unbelievers into the commission, that enjoins the baptism of believers." Dr. Carson here risks "the credit of his understanding" against the principle of the Baptists. If "believers only can be baptized," unbelievers are not baptized according to this commission, although immersed in his baptistery. But as all believers ought to be baptized, why are not those persons, who have been immersed in unbelief, re-baptized on conversion? The argument applies as directly to them as it does to infants. But as it is a principle with the Baptists that they are not to be re-baptized, this argument of the Doctor is practically repudiated by his own brethren.

II. (Page 170.) "Even *if I found another command*, enjoining the baptism of the infants of believers, I should not move an inch from my position. I should still say, this is not included in the apostolic commission. This is another commission, and cannot interfere with the former. There would then be two baptisms on quite different grounds." But if another Divine command would not bring infants within this commission, how should a mistake of the immerser, or a

falsehood of the immersed, bring unbelievers within its terms? If this reasoning be good, there are "two baptisms on quite different grounds" in Baptist churches. But this argument is practically repudiated by the admission on the part of the Baptists of the sufficiency of the baptism of unbelievers, provided they themselves be the baptizers.

III. (Page 170.) "Not only does this commission exclude infants, if there were another commission enjoining the baptism of infants, *when these infants who have been baptized in infancy, according to this second commission, believe the Gospel, they must be baptized according to the commission*, Matt. xxviii. 19, without any regard to their baptism in infancy." If infants, baptized on the supposed case of a Divine command, ought to be re-baptized in obedience to this commission, *à fortiori*, unbelievers having been baptized in opposition to such a command, ought to be re-baptized. But Baptists repudiate this argument.

IV. (Page 170.) "The commission commands all men to be baptized *on believing the Gospel*. The command of Jesus to every believer to be baptized, stands engraven in indelible characters in this commission. Heaven and earth will pass away before it will cease to be a duty for *believers to be baptized*. It is impossible for any explanation, or any express command for another baptism, to excuse them from this." But without an explanation or express command to excuse them, Baptists will not baptize "on believing the Gospel," such persons as they have baptized in unbelief, although by excommunication they have treated the hypocrites as heathen men and publicans, and therefore they repudiate this argument.

V. (Page 171.) "A command to believers to observe any ordinance *whatever can never imply any but believers*. This is as clear as the light of heaven. It is a first truth. The denial of it implies a contradiction." The Baptists deny it in recognizing the baptism of unbelievers on their conversion, and therefore contradict this first truth.

VI. (Page 172.) "A colonel sends out his recruiting officers with instructions" to enlist men six feet high. "Did not the instructions that mentioned six feet as the standard forbid all under that measure to be enlisted?" "Cease, Dr. Wardlaw, to pervert the word of the Lord,—cease to *force a commission enjoining the baptism of believers, to sanction the baptism of infants*." The obvious reply is, Cease, ye Baptists, to sanction the baptism of unbelievers, but re-baptize them on their belief. Your five feet eight inches of unbelief are no better than our eighteen inches of infancy.



VII. (Page 173.) "None can be saved by the Gospel, but such as believe the Gospel; *none can be baptized with the baptism of the Gospel, but such as believe the Gospel.* There is no exception to either." Is there no exception? Are all the false professors, whom Dr. Carson has immersed, unbaptized "with the baptism of the Gospel?" Should God convert them—will he re-baptize them? We repudiate the argument, exclaim all the Baptists with one voice, for we never re-baptize.

VIII. (Page 173.) "That believers only can be baptized by this commission is clear, from that *into* which they are said to be baptized." But what becomes of the "*into*" in the unbelievers' baptism, the validity of which Baptists acknowledge?

IX. (Page 253.) "I would gainsay an angel who should say that this commission may extend to the baptism of any but believers." The gainsayer of angels has first to gainsay all the Baptist churches.

X. (Page 179.) "That commission commands believers to be baptized; and except both sides of a contradiction may be true, it *can never include unbelievers.*" How does it include the unbelievers expelled from Baptist churches as false professors?

XI. (Page 179.) "Were a thousand baptisms found in the New Testament, they could not serve for the baptism of the commission, nor relieve the believer from *his obligation of being baptized on the belief of the truth.*" How can one immersion of an unbeliever in a Baptist chapel afford the relief which "a thousand baptisms found in the New Testament" could not bestow?

XII. (Page 235.) "They may appear to be Christians to-day, and therefore ought to be baptized: *to-morrow they may prove the contrary*, and therefore they cannot have been sealed by baptism." On the next day they are converted; why are they not baptized, seeing they have never been "baptized with the baptism of the Gospel"?

XIII. (Page 177.) "John's baptism did not serve for Christ's. Surely, then, they who are baptized in infancy, *upon any pretence whatever*, must be re-baptized when they come to the faith of the Gospel." Why are not adults, baptized "upon any pretence whatever," "re-baptized when they come to the faith of the Gospel"?

XIV. (Page 260.) "I ask the conscience of my antagonist, if he thinks that the language of the commission commands the ungodly in the nations to be baptized by force." Does it command *the godly* to be baptized by force? If this be a commission to baptize believers, does it authorize Baptists to immerse believing Quakers and Pædobaptists? May not pious Presbyterians and Episcopalians

walk near the waters of Tubbermore without danger of compulsory baptism?

These are all the arguments I can find, deduced from the commission. The author says of them in his Appendix, "This is the ground on which I have placed the subject in my treatise. Many a lever has been employed to move it off the foundation, but it remains like a rock lashed by the waves of the ocean," p. 260. This is somewhat dangerous language. If the rock be not subverted, the theory of the Baptists must be wrecked upon it. These great guns of Dr. Carson are turned upon them as well as upon us; and upon them with more effect than upon us. On these principles Simon Magus ought to have been commanded to repent and be re-baptized. Yet Baptists never command convicted and converted false brethren to be re-baptized. That we may understand them, they ought to act a fair, candid, and consistent part with these arguments. Either let them honestly avow that they adopt as a principle "believers' baptism," and therefore re-baptize false brethren, if they know them, on their conversion; or let them as distinctly repudiate in words, as they do in deeds, the arguments of Dr. Carson founded upon his interpretation of the commission. These arguments being surrendered, there will fall with them, as equally opposed to the Baptist theory, another class founded upon passages which are said to assert that only believers can be baptized. The series begins on page 211. "From John iii. 5, we see that baptism is a figure of regeneration. They who are baptized are represented as born again. Now this is peculiar to believers. *The ordinance exhibits the person as at the time born again.*" If it does, it is often a false exhibition, and *always* an exhibition of whose truth or falsehood the administrator knows nothing. But when it is found to be a mockery of truth, why is it still accredited as a Christian ordinance? These arguments,—which, if good for anything, say to the Baptist minister, Physician, heal thyself,—being excluded, the book in its reduced and attenuated form will occasion to neither party very much trouble. Unless our Baptist brethren, adopting the principle of re-baptizing, will practically avow, or disclaiming Dr. Carson's arguments, plainly deny, that "*none can be baptized with the baptism of the Gospel but such as believe it,*" we have a right to regard them as retreating from the crisis of the controversy, and as making the believer's baptism of his book a masked battery, the discharge of which directed against us exposes the unfairness of the position which they have assumed. If they will say of the one symbol in the instance of unbelievers, This is not baptism, as we say in the

other, This is not to eat the Lord's supper, but only a mockery, we can understand these arguments. If they will not, it becomes them to answer Dr. Carson, by proving that unbelievers' baptism is good Christian baptism, although it does not "exhibit the person as at the time born again," and "serves for the baptism of the commission" better than "a thousand baptisms found in the New Testament."

To examine Dr. Carson's reference to the practice of the apostles, would be to travel over the ground on which I have passed in the discussion of the lecture. In noticing one instance of his mode of explaining the historical references to baptism, I may select that which we have the first occasion to consider on opening the New Testament. In reference to the crowds whom John baptized, I have said that he baptized, without discrimination, all applicants. Dr. Carson imposes a restriction, which his system and his mode of interpretation both require. He speaks (p. 229) of "the persons whom John drove from his baptism." He is often very angry with those who add anything to Scripture, and I think his virtuous indignation may be unsparingly indulged, upon this extraordinary assumption. The reader finding no information in his Bible, will probably inquire, Whom did John drive from his baptism? The structure of the passage shows, that "the scribes, and Pharisees, and Sadducees" are intended. Let us examine the fact. (Matt. iii. 7—11.) "But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Let the reader carefully observe, that John addressed these words to unconverted Pharisees and Sadducees, knowing them at the time to be unconverted. Of all persons, they would be the most disposed to abuse the ordinance, because they were prone to lean upon external privileges. "Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father." Yet to them, John saith, "I indeed baptize you with water, unto repentance." Dr. Carson says, in plain contradiction of the text, that John drove them from his baptism. I reply, in his own words, (p. 177,) "No ground can be found in the passage for this conceit. No force can extract it from the words. It is man's scripture,—not God's."

Dr. Carson says, (p. 334,) "John's saying, I baptize you, addressing the people in general, did not imply, either that he baptized the whole nation, or the whole of the present audience." But the words, as recorded by Matthew, were addressed to "many of the Pharisees and Sadducees," and not to "the people in general." "He said



unto" *them*, that is, to the brood of vipers, "I baptize you." In accordance with Dr. Carson's scheme, the meaning of the words, "I baptize you unto repentance," must be, I drive you from baptism, and baptize other people after repentance. A more palpable contradiction cannot be imagined.

In conclusion, we observe, that the scheme of Dr. Carson has compelled him, in direct opposition to Scripture, to deny that the disciples were baptized "with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence," for that baptism was only a catachresis—to deny that the "fathers were baptized in the sea," for that was only "a figure," which vanishes like "a winding-sheet of snow,"—to deny that John baptized the brood of vipers, for "he drove them from his baptism"—to assert, that believers, not figuratively, but really, have died with Christ, and been buried with him, so that "there is no more figure than when it is said, they shall die themselves," although Jesus was alive again long before they were born, and they have never been within many hundred miles of his tomb,—and, worst of all, to assert, that our blessed Lord confessed his sins unto repentance, at the baptism of John. This is to me, "another gospel;" and rather than receive it, I would surrender the whole doctrine of baptism. Jesus standing a penitent, confessing his sins to John! There is nothing so revolting in Popery on the one hand, or in Unitarianism on the other. God in mercy protect the Baptist churches from so dreadful a doctrine!

### C. Page 83.

#### ON BUNSEN'S DENIAL OF ORIGEN'S TESTIMONY IN FAVOUR OF INFANT BAPTISM.

The testimony of Origen in favour of the baptism of infants is denied by Bunsen in his *Hippolytus*, vol. iii. p. 193, on the ground that the word "*parvuli*" is employed, which, as he thinks, designates not infants, but children of from six to ten years old. In reply we observe, that the parents had to make the responses for those children who were unable to repeat them. This, Bunsen says, "is undoubtedly the apostolical practice to which Origen refers." But surely children under ten years of age might easily have learned to repeat the responses, as they were required by the offices of the Alexandrian church at that time.

But the criticism of Bunsen on the word "*parvuli*" is evidently erroneous. Undoubtedly Irenæus distinguishes between *infantes* and



parvuli ; but as undoubtedly Origen, or rather his translator, makes no such distinction. This is evident from the connexion of the passages which I have cited, as well as from the purpose to which they are applied.

I have cited from the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans the passage,—“The church has received a tradition from the apostles to give baptism to little children” (“parvulis”). What were these “parvuli”? Not infants, says Bunsen, but “growing children, from about six to ten years old.” But immediately preceding these words, is a reference to the offering of doves or pigeons, according to the Levitical law, for newly-born children. These children we know were infants. But Origen says, according to his translator, “For what sin is one pigeon offered? Can the newly-born child (*nuper editus parvulus*) have sinned?” This newly-born parvulus was surely not six years old. Origen contends, that it was on account of the pollution of original sin, and adds, “On this account (*pro hoc*) the church has received a tradition from the apostles to give baptism even to the parvuli.” It is evident that Origen made no distinction between *infantes* and *parvuli*. His *parvuli* included newly-born infants, and his argument is founded upon the Jewish law, which required an offering for infants on the day of their purification.

## LECTURE VIII.\*

### BAPTISM, THE DESIGNATION OF PERSONS UNDER RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

“Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John.”—JOHN iv. 1.

BAPTISM, as it has been explained in preceding Lectures, is an ordinance of Christ, by which all persons received under Christian instruction ought to be designated. Practically, it is a registration of those who are admitted to a course of instruction, preparatory to their reception into the fellowship of a Christian church. Emblematically, it is a sign of the sanctifying influence of the truths in which they are instructed. According to this exposition, Jesus made and baptized disciples in the sense of learners, not of converts. The design of this Lecture is to show, that learners are to be still designated by the rite of baptism.

Speaking of the baptism of John, I have said, that to be baptized by him, was to be initiated as a disciple or learner of his doctrine, which was preparation by repentance for the coming of the Messiah. His baptism was, therefore, called the baptism of repentance; although, as

\* This Lecture in the former edition commenced the second volume. Appearing some years after the first volume, it contained a resumption of some preceding arguments, which may here be thought useless repetitions, though I have done what I could to remove them, so far as was consistent with the preservation of the argument of the original lecture.

we have seen, it was not restricted to the penitent. So in speaking of Christian baptism I contend, that to be baptized is to be initiated as a disciple or learner of the Christian doctrine. During the ministry of our Lord upon earth, the great truth announced was, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah promised to the fathers; and those who desired to learn His doctrine, were "made and baptized disciples," or made disciples by baptism. Since his resurrection, the great truth announced to the world is, that Jesus the Christ was crucified for our sins, and raised for our justification. All who, on hearing this truth, are willing to become learners of the Christian doctrine, ought to be placed under the elementary instruction of the church, and to be designated by the initiatory rite of baptism. When these learners understand the doctrine, furnish satisfactory evidence of submission to its power, and correctly appreciate the responsibilities of church-fellowship, they ought to be received, as disciples indeed, not as learners, but as converts, to the fellowship of the church and the communion of the Lord's Supper. The relation which the baptized, not being in fellowship, bear to a Christian church, ought to be very much like that which the catechumens of the end of the second century, or beginning of the third, bore to the churches of that time. The principal difference is, in our placing baptism at the commencement of the catechetical course, and in their postponing it to the close. We make disciples, according to Christ's commission, by baptizing and teaching; they deferred baptism until the disciples had been made. The practice of deferring baptism was, I believe, an innovation upon the apostolic method of administering it on the earliest opportunity.

Since the former Lectures were delivered, I have entitled a publication, "Baptism, the Designation of the Catechumens, not the Symbol of the Members of the Christian Church." It is not my purpose in these Lec-

tures to divert attention from the argument, by noticing the objections which have been brought against the former course; but, on reviewing the discussion, a few words on this particular may place the subject in a clearer light. A charge of inconsistency has been brought against me, on account of the title, "Baptism, the Designation of the Catechumens," compared with the following words, adduced from my Lecture on the subjects of baptism:—"In the records of the apostolic age, and in the writings of the succeeding centuries, no contrast is more remarkable than, in the former, the absence of all allusion to the catechumens, and in the latter the continual reference to them. The most attentive student of the apostolic age can never find a catechumen; the most cursory reader of the succeeding centuries frequently meets with crowds." Had I not carefully explained the sense in which I used the word catechumen, I might, not unjustly, have exposed myself to this charge. But I immediately appended this explanation of a catechumen,—"*the unbaptized youth under religious instruction.*" So in the next page, in reference to the apostolic churches, it is said, "There are no catechumens, so far as living man can find, nor any indication of their presence; but if there are no catechumens, *no unbaptized persons under instruction*, the inquiry arises, When, in the apostolic churches, were persons baptized? The reply is, in every instance in which the time can be ascertained, On the very first opportunity after they heard the gospel."\* Having thus expressly defined my use of the word "catechumen," "*an unbaptized person under instruction,*" I maintained, that there were no such persons under the instruction of the apostolic churches, and in that sense no catechumens. But I never intimated that no persons whatever were under the preparatory instruction of the first churches; or that such persons, although

\* Lectures on the Sacraments. First Edition, Vol. I. pp. 583—585.



baptized, might not with propriety be called "catechumens." Baptized or unbaptized, they were under catechetical instruction. Their teachers, whatever they were called, were properly catechists; and they, in the old sense of the term, were taught their catechism. In the preceding course of lectures, on referring to the usages of the third century, I employed the term "catechumen," with the signification *then* commonly assigned to it; and to prevent mistake, I appended the needful explanation. In the more general reference of the subsequent publication, I used it in its etymological signification, denoting a person under elementary instruction. But however the term be used, it is obvious that, wherever the word of God is faithfully taught in connexion with Christ's ordinances, there ought to be some persons under preparatory instruction for the fellowship of the church. Upon this point I think there can be no dispute. The disputable question is, Ought such persons to be baptized? or, ought their baptism to be postponed until their admission to the communion of the church?

That there ought to be such a class of persons, whatever they be called, under instruction preparatory to their admission to the full communion of the church, is, I have said, not a disputable question, not only because it appears too reasonable to admit of dispute, but also because it is acknowledged by my opponents of every class, whatever be the difference between them in their views of Christian baptism. Thus my esteemed friend, Dr. Wardlaw, says, "I am disposed to regard the children of believers as disciples. They have been baptized; they have become the subjects of spiritual instruction—of the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and they are in training for the full fellowship of the people of God, in all the ordinances of his house."\* So Mr. Stovel says, "Nothing could be

\* Wardlaw on Infant Baptism, p. 189.

more important, therefore, than that each inquirer should be well instructed, and, by the Lord's own rule, reckon up the cost of his profession before he made it. Hence the persons who became impressed by the truth were placed under instruction as catechumens. The most effective teachers were employed in conducting their studies. They were made familiar with gospel facts, and the hopes and obligations of believers in Christ. Under the care of the church, they were prepared for its service and fellowship.\*

With these statements I fully concur. "Each inquirer should be well instructed; and, by the Lord's own rule, reckon up the cost of his profession before he makes it." But it is manifest, that those who were baptized on the day on which they first heard the gospel, could not have been subjected to such discipline *before* their baptism. By their baptism the inquirers were, as I believe, recognized as coming under the instruction, by which "they were prepared for the service and fellowship" of the church. The discrimination was a subsequent act,—a deliberate decision of the church itself (not a judicial sentence of a single teacher), admitting the instructed person into its Christian fellowship. I allude to these particulars in the discussion, in order to show clearly the ground which I occupy, in maintaining that every learner, under the teaching of the church, should be recognized by baptism as a scholar or disciple.

It is quite evident that this opinion, be it right or wrong, does not, in the smallest degree, diminish any security we have for the purity of our churches. Those who agree with me have no controversy with such as hold that a Christian church ought to consist of such persons only as make a credible profession of personal religion. On the contrary, if our principles were consistently regarded in the discipline of our churches, they would provide addi-

\* Stovel's Lectures, p. 311.

tional security against the admission of improper persons, by subjecting all inquirers to a recognized discipline, preparatory to their admission to "the full fellowship of the people of God in all the ordinances of his house." We want the catechumenical class, as the accompaniment of our baptism. And if our Baptist friends say, Why do you not institute it for inquirers *after* baptism? we can only reply, And why do you not institute it for inquirers *before* baptism? You require the same preparation for baptism, as we do for the Lord's Supper. Both parties are, I fear, culpably negligent in this matter. If a few churches on both sides would honestly and resolutely act upon scriptural principles, so far as they are acknowledged by both parties, they would probably come to a right understanding and agreement on the subject of baptism, much sooner than they will be brought by volumes of controversy, however able, or however earnest.

That baptism should designate those who are brought under Christian instruction, preparatory to their admission into the fellowship of the church, may be deduced from the following considerations:—

1. This opinion satisfactorily accounts for the fact observed by almost all ecclesiastical historians, and very obvious on comparing with the Acts of the Apostles the records of a subsequent age, that baptism was administered much more readily in the apostolic age than at a later time, when a course of religious instruction was insisted upon previously to the administration of that rite to adults. That in the apostolic age there was no course of instruction preparatory to baptism, is sufficiently evident from the instances recorded in the New Testament. There could have been no catechetical instruction previous to a baptism administered on that same day, or same night, in which the applicant first heard the exhortation to flee from the wrath to come. To spare needless repetition, I may refer to the evidence adduced in the preceding Lecture, in

which it was shown that baptism was administered to great numbers on the earliest opportunity, and within a few hours of their becoming acquainted with the elementary truths of the Gospel. The practice of the Apostles may be easily compared with that of the church teachers of a subsequent age; and on the comparison, the difference in the preparation for baptism appears undeniable. To cite the particulars would be superfluous. To find a catechumen preparing for baptism in the apostolic age, is as impossible as it is to find an adult admitted to baptism, without passing the catechetical discipline, in the third century. Dr. Neander, referring to the practice of the apostolic age, thus states the fact:—

“All who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah were baptized, without further or longer instruction, such as in later times has preceded baptism.”\*

Speaking of the baptism of Simon Magus, he says:—

“As we have already remarked, it was a standing regulation in primitive times, that all those who professed to believe the announcement of Jesus as the Messiah should be baptized.”†

To cite Catholic, as well as Protestant authority, Dr. Wiseman observes, that “The Christians in early times were not instructed in the important dogmas of religion until baptized.”‡

In his Ecclesiastical History, Neander thus accounts for the change, which soon commenced, and gradually extended into the prolonged discipline of preparation for baptism:—

“Originally, as it was of great consequence that the church should extend itself rapidly, those among the Jews who acknowledged their belief in Jesus as the Messiah, or those among the heathen who acknowledged their belief in

\* History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, B. I. c. 2.

† *Ibid.* B. II.

‡ Lectures on the Doctrines of the Catholic Church, Lect. v.



the one God and in Jesus the Messiah, were immediately baptized, *as appears from the New Testament*. It gradually came to be thought necessary to give those, who wished to be received into the Christian church, a more careful instruction by way of preparation, and to subject them to a more severe trial. This whole class of persons were called "auditores," *κατηχοῦμενοι*, and their names implied that they were persons who were receiving preparatory instruction in Christianity, and who as yet were only in a state to listen to the Holy Scriptures when they were read, and to the sermons."\*

Dr. Neander thought that the original practice of baptizing all who acknowledged their belief in the Messiah, and the subsequent method of affording preparatory instruction for baptism, were both to be justified on the ground of expediency. That it was of great consequence the primitive church should increase rapidly, is his reason for the ready administration of baptism in the apostolic age. That subsequently it was thought necessary to prepare all persons by more careful instruction, is the reason he assigns for the later practice of deferring baptism. But we are content with "the standing regulation of primitive times." On no consideration of expediency would we innovate upon this apostolic practice. The subsequent restriction is attempted to be justified, on the ground of the great danger of improper persons seeking admission to the church by means of baptism. To this we reply, baptism did not admit any person to its full communion, without a vote of Christian confidence given by the assembled church. This we shall hereafter explain. And further, if it did, there was quite as much danger of improper persons seeking admission into the church in the apostolic age, as in any subsequent time whatever. Indeed, there was greater danger on account of the sudden and unexpected impressions, which were often produced by the frequent display

\* History of the Christian Religion and Church, Vol. I. sec. 3, § 2.

of miraculous power. In speaking of the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, Dr. Neander himself observes, with much truth, "In proportion to the might and energy of the operation, many persons were more easily carried away by the first impressions of Divine truth, whose hearts were not a soil suited for the Divine seed to take deep root, and develop itself. It happened then, as in the great religious revivals of other times, that many were borne along by the force of excited feeling, without having (as their subsequent conduct proved) their dispositions effectually penetrated by the Holy Spirit."\* Such, we doubt not, was the true state of feeling in the apostolic age. Many were "borne along by the force of excited feeling;" but if, in such times of general and extraordinary impression, it was "the standing regulation," that all persons who acknowledged their belief in Jesus as Messiah should be baptized, we deny the authority of any subsequent teachers, under whatever pretext of expediency, to innovate upon the primitive practice, by interposing a course of preparatory instruction between the application of the inquirer and his baptism.

Although, soon after the apostolic age, the rite of baptism was postponed until the conclusion of the catechetical course; yet by carefully observing the history of the second and succeeding century, we may discover some vestiges of the primitive usage. It is seen in the rite which, although considered a part of baptism, was noticed by early ecclesiastical writers, as intended to designate the catechumens on their introduction into their first relation to the church.

In the apostolic age no initiatory rite preceded baptism; but when baptism was deferred until the close of the catechetical instruction, there was a service appointed for the initiating of catechumens, and intended to accomplish the purpose of the original and scriptural rite of initiation.

\* History of the Planting, B. I. c. 2.

The renunciation of the devil was, at a very early age, considered a part of the baptismal service. We find it so in Tertullian; but we also find in his time, the renunciation was made by all persons on becoming catechumens. The change seems to have been gradual; as early as Tertullian, the time of instruction preparatory to baptism was comparatively short. In the age of Cyril, it had become greatly prolonged. Tertullian represents Christians as "having testified some time before baptism (*aliquanto prius*), under the hand of the chief minister, that we renounce the devil, and his pomps and angels."\* He also seems to refer to the renunciation of idols on becoming catechumens, as well as on being baptized, when he says, "We have *twice* renounced idols."† The varying usage is best explained upon the supposition, that baptism, on being removed from its original position, left in its place an initiatory rite, which was considered as a part of its ceremonial. Of the ancient initiatory service of the catechumens, as separated from baptism, traces are discovered in several early liturgies—as in the Gregorian, the Coptic, the Armenian, the revised Syriac, and old Gallican liturgy; while in these, and some others, the transposition of the form of renouncing the devil from its place, as introductory to the baptismal service, may be discerned. In the time of Cyril, it had become generally regarded as properly belonging to the baptismal service.‡

\* De Corona Mil. c. 3.

+ De Spect. c. 13.

‡ In the Annotations to the translation of Tertullian in the Library of the Fathers, these traces are thus enumerated (vol. i. p. 162):—"The renouncing of Satan is part of the service for making catechumens in the Gelasian liturgy (Assem. Cod. Lit. i. 17); and it is there marked, that an interval was to take place before baptism was to be bestowed. In another form (*Ibid.* p. 21) this is not marked. There is a trace of the same separation in the Gellone Sacramentary (*Ibid.* ii. 53), Rheims (ii. 58). It is equally part of the same service in the Gregorian (*Ibid.* p. 22), although this is directly united with the baptismal service. In the Greek Liturgy it also occurs in the service for catechumens (*Ibid.* pp. 114 and 137, 138), which

The initiation of the catechumens was distinguished by the observance of a rite, supposed to be intimately connected with baptism, until that rite also was postponed, as baptism had previously been, to the time of admission into the communion of the church.

2. That baptism was the introductory rite to a course of Christian instruction, will account for the fact, that we find in the New Testament no instance of baptism being refused or postponed on account of any defect in the qualification of the applicants. When the apostles addressed the multitude of strangers in the words, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you," they were surely ready to baptize, as they did baptize on that same day, all who offered themselves, when there could have been no opportunity for discrimination. Many find it difficult to believe that three thousand persons were immersed in the latter part of one day; but it is more difficult to believe that they were interrogated as to their knowledge, their experience, or their character. If baptism were understood to be the designation of a learner, brought under the instruction of the apostles, the whole proceeding is easily explained. "Then they that (gladly)\* received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls." These

was originally distinct, but is also joined on to the baptismal. It is so adapted in a MS. quoted *Ibid.* ii. 129. Also in the Coptic (*Ibid.* 158), Armenian (i. 172, add. ii. 203), in the revised Syriac (i. 237, which is used as introductory to the Antiochene and Jerusalem baptismal liturgies, ii. 214, note 1), and the Apostolic, translated from the Greek, by James of Edessa (i. 250). All these are now practically joined on to the baptismal service (see Coptic, ii. 150; Armen. ii. 194; Syr. ii. 214. 226; Apostolic, by Severus, ii. 280), since none are now admitted as catechumens. Hence in the old Gallican, *Ibid.* ii. 39, 42, Jerus. Syriac for Infants (ii. 251,) in the Roman office for Infants by Paul V. (as in our own) it is inserted in the baptismal office (*Ibid.* ii. 17); in theirs for adults, it remains as part of the service of catechumens, though blended in one with the baptismal (*Ibid.* p. 22)."

\* The received text has ἀσμένως, gladly; but this word is wanting in the Alexandrine, Vatican, Ephrem, Bezae, and other MSS. See Appendix A. to Lect. VII.



persons proved the sincerity of their application for baptism, by their subsequent conduct. "They (not before baptism, but after it) were strenuously applying to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayers." The process seems to have been:—They were first baptized, and then taught, and then admitted to the fellowship of the church, and the Lord's Supper, and daily prayers. If, on the contrary, baptism were an attestation or a discrimination of true believers, some delay and inquiry would be reasonable, before such an attestation was given to strangers immediately on receiving their first favourable impressions of evangelical truth. No such delay or inquiry is ever mentioned in the New Testament.

3. This opinion accounts for the baptism of so very ignorant a man as Simon Magus.

My argument on this case has been controverted, as if it had been founded upon the extreme wickedness of the magician, although it referred exclusively to his extreme ignorance of the rudiments and first principles of the Christian religion. He is said to have believed, in the sense in which we shall hereafter explain that term. But what could he have believed more than that Jesus was the expected Messiah, and that he should gain some advantage by being baptized? Supposing he could purchase the Holy Ghost for money, he could have had no knowledge of the evangelical doctrine. Offering his money to the apostles, he could have had no appreciation of the spiritual character of their mission. So great ignorance shows that he had been subject, previous to his baptism, to no catechetical instruction. After his baptism, not before it, he would have had to learn his catechism, if he had to learn it at all. Nor could Philip have made any inquiry respecting his knowledge of the gospel, without detecting his gross ignorance of its elementary lessons. Granting that he was baptized as an inquirer willing to be brought under religious instruction, we have no difficulty with the

narrative. Assuming, on the other hand, that his baptism was an act by which his profession was accredited as that of a man who had afforded credible evidence of genuine conversion, and the history becomes inexplicable. To attest the personal religion of any man is a solemn act. To say that Philip in a service designed to discriminate true converts from the ungodly, gave his attestation in favour of the personal religion of one so extremely ignorant, would be to impute culpable negligence to the evangelist. Of all things in man, gross ignorance is most easily discovered.

4. This opinion is in exact accordance with the literal translation of our Lord's commission to administer baptism. That literal translation is, "Going, disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." For the examination of these words, I must refer to the preceding Lecture, on the subjects of baptism. It has been shown, as the words imply, that we are to make disciples by baptizing and teaching, not to make disciples first, and baptize them afterwards. Philip would disciple Simon Magus by baptizing and teaching him, and therefore baptized him in his extreme ignorance. So we would make disciples by baptizing and teaching all who will submit to regular instruction. But having maintained, at some length, that this is the mode of making disciples prescribed by the commission, I here only adduce the words, without the full exposition, to complete the argument.

5. This opinion coincides with the language of Scripture respecting the object proposed in baptism.

As the baptism of John is called the baptism of repentance, it must have had some connexion with repentance. Was it then administered on account of repentance as something past, or with a view to it as something future? Did John regard repentance as a fact accomplished, or as

an object proposed? To a generation of vipers—the crowd of Pharisees and Sadducees who went to be baptized—he said, I baptize you *unto* repentance (εἰς μετάνοιαν),\* not *after* repentance, nor *on account* of repentance, as if it had been previously ascertained, but *unto* it, as an object to be attained. The objective reference of εἰς is undeniable. Some Baptists, in order to preserve this reference in accordance with their views, have suggested the interposition of the word *profession*, and construed, I baptize you *unto the profession* of repentance. But this is interpolating Scripture. If John baptized with a view to their repentance by the influence of the truth which the baptized would learn, the meaning of his words, “I baptize you *unto* repentance,” is sufficiently obvious.

Peter said, “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins.” (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.) Acts ii. 38 The syntax is here, if possible, more decided. Not only does the preposition εἰς refer to the future and prospective relation of the remission of sins, but it does so with the same dependence on baptism as on repentance. The signification of εἰς must correspond in its relation to both words, “repent” and “be baptized.” In what sense does the apostle use the preposition, when he says, “Repent” “for the remission of sins”? The remission of sins is obviously represented, not as preceding repentance, but as subsequent to it. The preposition has its meaning clearly defined by its relation to the word “repent.” Used only *once*, it cannot have two interpretations thrust upon it. It must connect the remission of sins with both words, “repent” and “be baptized,” by one and the same relation. If it be, “repent *for* the remission of sins,” it must also be, “be baptized *for* the remission of sins.” Let those who deny this, say by what canon of syntax they can construe the passage, so as to obtain the

\* Ad resipiscēntiam, id est, ut resipiscatis. Externum enim baptismi signum eos admonebat de corrigenda vita.—*Beza in Matt.* iii. 11.

interpretation, Repent *for* the remission of sins, and be baptized *after* their remission. The Baptists have in no sense a baptism for the remission of sins. The Tractarians have it in a bad sense. We have it, as designating the introduction into a course of instruction, in which the whole doctrine of the remission of sin is fully explained.

In a similar manner we explain the passages which speak of being "baptized *unto* Christ," being "baptized *unto* his death," that is, being baptized with a view to the redemption procured by his death, proposed in baptism as the object of the religious instruction connected with it. There, as everywhere else, *unto* must denote a prospective, not a retrospective relation to the noun with which it is construed.

6. This view of baptism corresponds with the frequent use of the terms "disciples" and "believing" in the New Testament. In the Gospels, multitudes are called "disciples," who could not have been disciples in the more restricted and spiritual sense; that is, could not have been truly regenerate men. They were learners of the Christian doctrine, and nothing better. Nor were they regarded as *converted* men by the inspired writers, who called them disciples. We are taught, in the sixth chapter of John, that Jesus preached to the multitudes who followed him the doctrine of the atonement, in the figurative language, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." The evangelist adds, "Many, therefore, of *his disciples*, when they had heard this, said, This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" "From that time many of *his disciples* went back, and walked no more with him." John vi. 53—66. In calling these persons disciples, the evangelist regarded them, not as regenerate men, but only as learners of Christ's doctrine, attendants on the ministry of our Lord;



just as many unconverted persons, willing to learn the Christian doctrine, are at the present day regular attendants upon the ministry of the Gospel. When we find this multitude of attendants called "disciples," and when we read that "Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John," can we doubt that these attendants were baptized, and that such persons elsewhere called disciples were also baptized?

These disciples constituted a great multitude. We know that John baptized great numbers; we are told that Jesus at one time was baptizing even more than John. But, notwithstanding the multitudes who were baptized, we never find anything like proportionate numbers in Jerusalem, or anywhere else, represented as truly converted to Christ. What could these multitudes of baptized disciples have been more than learners of that doctrine, the sanctifying influences of which were prefigured by the washing with water? Such disciples are in this narrative introduced to our attention, and we learn from their conduct what manner of people many of them were.

Let it be observed, that I do not insist upon the ignorance of these disciples respecting the doctrine of Christ's sacrificial death; for probably our Lord had never taught it distinctly in their hearing. The argument depends upon another incontestable fact. Although they were called disciples, they were not prepared to receive that doctrine, even upon the authority of their great Teacher. They were offended at it. "From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him." What could these *disciples* who forsook their Lord for such a cause have been, but learners of his doctrine, and learners of a very low order?

We have another illustration of the use of the terms "disciples" and "believing" in John viii. 31, 32. "Then said Jesus to those Jews which *believed* on him, If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

These believers, as they are called, immediately replied to Jesus, "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?" Jesus then charged them plainly with being under the bondage of sin, with being of their father the devil, and doing his deeds. Although these persons are said to have believed, and were therefore disciples in the common sense of the word, it remained to be seen on further proof of their continuing in the word of Christ, whether they would become disciples indeed. They are represented as not knowing the truth; for the declaration is, that on certain conditions, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." We thus find in the Gospels a class of learners, who were said to have "believed," and yet they were not acknowledged to be "disciples indeed," nor yet to have known the truth which was to make them free. That such believers, or disciples, were baptized, we think we have said enough to show; and only upon this supposition can we account for the multitudes who were baptized, compared with the few who were "disciples indeed," or made free by the truth.

Another illustration is found in John ii. 23, 24. "Now when he was in Jerusalem at the passover, in the feast-day, many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did. But Jesus did not commit (*οὐκ ἐπίστευεν*) himself unto them, because he knew all men." Many believed in Jesus, but Jesus did not believe in them. Soon afterwards, some of John's disciples said unto him, "Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and *all men* come to him." When we ascertain the class of persons often called disciples and believers in the Gospels, but not disciples indeed, can we be at any loss to know how Jesus baptized more disciples than John?

7. If baptism were a rite by which applicants were recognized as disciples, in the sense of learners, it is easy

to understand how Christian teachers should have administered it on their own responsibility; but if it were a discriminating rite of believers, by which they were introduced into the fellowship of the church, it could have been rightly administered only upon the vote of the church into which they were about to be introduced.

To illustrate this observation, it may be needful to advert to the opinions we hold respecting the purity of Christian fellowship; although the defence of them must be reserved to a succeeding Lecture. On the one hand, the Gospel teaches us to regard no man as excluded from the external administration of the covenant of grace, and to do all we can to bring the unconverted under the influence of Christian instruction. On the other, a Christian church is a voluntary society, consisting only of such persons as make a credible profession of faith in Christ; and the members of such a society have an undoubted right to decide upon the credit which is due to the profession of every candidate for admission into its fellowship. However this may be disputed by others, it is acknowledged by all who hold the Congregational polity, whether Baptists or Pædobaptists. This act of a church, in deciding upon the credit which is due to the profession of a candidate—that is, the receiving or rejecting an applicant for its fellowship—is the proper act of discrimination between believers and unbelievers, in so far as any visible distinction is maintained in the world. When our opponents say that, in preserving the purity of the church, we must contend for some act of discrimination subsequent to baptism, our reply is plainly that we do, and that such an act of discrimination is recognized in the admission of every member into the fellowship of our churches. Our Baptist friends practically make such a discrimination as well as we. Do they consider baptism a sufficient title to the fellowship of a church, without a vote of its members? Would they regard their suffrages committed to every person

whom their minister might think fit to baptize? Would they not excommunicate an incorrigible offender, although they would still regard his baptism as a sacred sign not to be repeated, should he be brought to repentance for his ungodly deeds? An act of discrimination between the church and the world, altogether distinct from baptism, is practically observed by them as well as by ourselves. By administering baptism, no teacher deprives a church of its right, or exonerates it from its responsibility of deciding, as in the sight of the Lord Jesus, upon the Christian character of every applicant for its communion. It may be said in reply, that baptism should be administered upon the vote of the church, as the testimony of its members in favour of the Christian character of the applicant. To this our rejoinder is, baptism was not so administered in the apostolic churches, nor is it now so administered by many Baptist ministers.

In the several accounts of the administration of baptism in the New Testament, no reference is ever made to any act or vote of a particular church. In the majority of instances, the narrative excludes the possibility of such interposition. Some Baptists reply, "If the converts were baptized without the sanction of the churches, this was apparently where there was no church to give its sanction." But this is assuming far too much. Were none of the baptisms, mentioned in Scripture, administered in cities where churches had been previously formed? Were there no disciples in Damascus when Saul of Tarsus arrived in that city? Or were they not formed into a religious society—a voluntary church? On the first interview, Ananias baptized Saul without any communication with the other disciples. If it be said, this was an instance expressly appointed by God, we reply, many other things done by apostles and apostolic men were expressly appointed by God, and they are on that account none the less, but much the more deserving of our imi-



tation. The sanction or interference of a church in the administration of baptism is a gratuitous assumption, for which there is not the slightest shadow of scriptural authority.

Even in the instances of baptism where no churches had been previously formed, we say, if baptism were an act of discrimination by which persons were declared to be qualified for church-fellowship, these first baptisms would have been the mutual recognition of the several persons as there and then constituting a church,—the religious service accompanying the formation of a church, in which the baptized severally acknowledged their relation as brethren in Christ. But we have, in the baptisms which were first administered in any city, no allusion whatever to any such mutual recognition. Although the household of Lydia had been previously baptized in Philippi, the narrative of the baptism of the jailer excludes the supposition of her being present to recognize the act. Such baptisms were administered on the sole authority and responsibility of the teachers. Paul baptized but few in Corinth, “lest any should say that he baptized in his own name,” to make a party for himself. Had he baptized in accordance with a vote of the church, if the church had been previously formed, or with the recognition of the brethren about to be united in fellowship, if baptism were intended to give a title to fellowship, it would have been absurd to have accused him of any such intention. But if it were the practice of every teacher to baptize upon his own responsibility, without consulting others, it is easy to understand how he might incur the suspicion of intending to form a party, or to baptize in his own name. The caution of the apostle and the expressions he employed, suggest the idea of a connexion between the baptized and their teacher, rather than between them and the church.

But the reply of our Baptist friends, that baptisms

administered without the sanction of any church were, apparently, "in places where there was no church to sanction them," can be honestly adduced only by those who believe that, if there had been a church in any of those places, its sanction would have been sought and obtained. From the lips of any who do not so believe, this reply would be obviously inappropriate. But how many Baptist ministers unscrupulously administer this ordinance without obtaining the suffrage of any church! Whatever their more scrupulous brethren may allege, they at least are precluded by their own act from availing themselves of the supposed advantage of any such reply. Their practice is in accordance with our belief. With them, as with us, baptism is not the introduction of its subjects into the fellowship of a church; and therefore they with us have an act of discrimination distinct from baptism, and dependent upon the suffrages of the brethren.

The only visible distinction recognized in Scripture is between the church and the world. If baptism be the rite by which the discrimination is made or certified, it is the introduction into the church, and only by the consent of the members can it be solemnized. Or if it be, as some of our friends contend, a rite of discrimination for believers, but not of admission into the church, we have a visible distinction between believers and unbelievers, other than the distinction between the church and the world. But if it be the recognition of learners rather than the profession of believers, it leaves the visible distinction between the church and the world undisturbed.

In the ecclesiastical polity of Congregational churches, no principle is more sacred than the right of the members to decide, upon their own responsibility, who ought, or ought not, to be received into their fellowship. In vindication of this right, we must contend most strenuously that no single person, be his office what it may, is in-

vested with authority to sanction or repudiate the religious profession of his brother. The claiming of a right to administer or refuse baptism without the sanction of a church, if its administration be the recognition of a Christian profession, is no less than the assertion of as great an authority as is employed in pronouncing judgment upon another man's profession. The whole church gathered together in one place, acting in the name of Christ, may, on its united responsibility, acknowledge or disown a professor; but it has no authority to delegate that solemn responsibility to any individual. Our Baptist brethren, who perform what they believe to be an act of discrimination between believers and unbelievers without the vote of a Christian church, must bear to be told, that they are doing, though unintentionally, an act which, if consistently maintained, would be subversive of the liberty of Christian people, and the authority of Christian churches. Even Paul did not claim the power of admitting or excommunicating members; although, under the influence of inspiration, he gave directions how those who had the power, ought to use it. Of course, these remarks are totally inapplicable to those Baptist ministers who administer baptism in accordance with the vote of a church, and to those (for some such there are) who, although administering baptism to adults only, do not consider its administration to be the recognition of a credible profession of personal religion.

8. The institution of baptism previously to the formation of Christian churches, and altogether independently of them, shows that baptism was not designed to discriminate the accredited members of a particular church, or the well-qualified candidates for its fellowship.

As the multitudes baptized by John, and by the disciples of Jesus during his ministry on earth, were not formed into separate churches, there could have been no connexion between their baptism and their admission into the fellow-

ship of a Christian church. If, on the formation of Christian churches after the resurrection of our<sup>a</sup> Lord, they were admitted into fellowship (as we doubt not many of them were), their baptism might have been regarded as having designated "a people prepared for the Lord,"—in a course of preparatory instruction for admission into the church; but it could not have designated a state which at the time of its administration had no existence. But if, previously to the resurrection of Jesus, baptism was not introductory to the communion of the church, in what subsequent part of the sacred history can we find the evidence of such an introductory relation having been afterwards established? The baptisms recorded in the Acts, which, as we have already observed, were entirely independent of any directions, interference, or suffrage of any church, do not afford the slightest intimation of any such connexion between the administration of baptism and the admission into the fellowship of the church.

9. Many persons admitted to baptism were unfit to incur the responsibilities of members of a Christian church.

For the illustration of this particular I must refer to the preceding Lecture, on the subjects of Christian baptism, in which, on examining several instances, I adduced evidence for believing, that the religious principles of many could not have been at the time sufficiently ascertained, to authorize any to consider their baptism as a recognition of true Christian character, or of personal conversion to God. Of course, if the evidence adduced was sufficient to establish that fact, it supports the proposition here stated. But even if it fail to do that, it may be sufficient to prove all that is here asserted. If there were sufficient evidence to warrant the recognition of Simon Magus and many more, on the first time they heard the Gospel, as true Christian men, they must have been, without further instruction, very incompetent to discharge the duties of



church members. They would have to be taught, at least, the meaning of the church relation which they entered, the duties and responsibilities which belonged to it, the discerning of the Lord's body in the Supper, and the means of self-examination preparatory to it. If they were to be "taught the way of the Lord more perfectly" after baptism, but before they undertook the engagements of church fellowship, it would have been very proper to baptize them within an hour of their first convictions, that they might join the learners of the Christian faith; but if our Baptist friends maintain that their baptism introduced them, without further discrimination or instruction, into the full communion of the church, the doctrine of the Baptists, and not mine, is justly chargeable with subverting the purity of Christian communion. Yet with no charge have I been more vehemently assailed in this controversy.

If these reasons be valid, the administration of baptism after the apostolic age was restricted, as Neander and other ecclesiastical historians think, on the ground of expediency. As we recede from the apostolic age, the restriction becomes more limited. In the age of Justin we find no prolonged preparation. In the time of Tertullian, the service of making catechumens preceded but a short time the administration of baptism, though he recommended delay, especially in the baptizing of young children and unmarried persons. In the age of Cyril, we find the catechetical instruction continued for two years; and gradually the discipline became more severe, as baptism was represented to be the great and awful transition from the domain of Satan to the kingdom of God, after which the pardon of sin was of very difficult attainment, by the baptism of many penitential tears, or the martyr's blood. We, however, would retrace our steps through these changes to the more simple forms of the apostolic age, and baptize on their first application all

who are willing to be instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel. Neither the Philippian jailer, nor any member of his household, was a catechumen before baptism, whatever he might have been afterwards. Church history does not supply a more decided contrast than the preaching of Peter, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins," and the catechetical lectures of Cyril addressed to the candidates for baptism.

If the opinion of baptism we have maintained be correct, that is, if it were intended to designate those who came under the religious instruction of the church, it is for us now to inquire what influence this opinion ought to have upon the practice of infant baptism. There are some Antipædobaptists (and the Lecturer has reason to think, more than is commonly supposed), who would not require any evidence or profession of personal conversion as a qualification for the reception of Christian baptism. They have told me they are willing to baptize any applicant, upon a mere profession of belief in the general truth of the Christian religion, and of willingness to receive further instruction; but they have added, such administration to adults on their own application, however different from believers' baptism, affords no vindication of infant baptism. To this I reply:—

(1.) If any persons ought to be recognized as learners under the preparatory instruction of a Christian church, none can more appropriately belong to such a class than the children of its members. Such children ought undoubtedly to be trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Born in the household of faith, they ought, like Timothy, "from a child to know the Holy Scriptures which are able to make them wise unto salvation." Although the obligation belongs primarily to the parents, yet they should educate their children in the church, in connexion with the ordinances of religion which it affords. They should not only partake of the Lord's Supper, but

also do this before their children, and show to them the death of Christ. A church of Christ has a social character. Its members are united for their mutual advantage. They ought to bear each others' burdens, to sympathize in each others' feelings, and to promote each others' interests. Their children ought to be considered under the general care, as the lambs of the flock. As soon as they can think correctly upon common subjects, they ought to be taught the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. From the catechumens, be their class baptized or unbaptized, no such children ought to be excluded. Parents may commit their offspring to the religious instruction of the church, with the good hope of seeing the accomplishment of the promise, "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Whatever be the introductory rite of catechumens, there is peculiar propriety in administering it to the children of church members, who are under an obligation (of which the church has a right to demand the fulfilment) of teaching their children the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion.

(2.) Baptism is the only rite by which little children can be recognized as belonging to the kingdom of heaven, or as having any connexion with the church of Christ.

Having in a previous Lecture considered the meaning of our Lord's words, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God," I need not now offer a second defence of the exposition which has been already proposed. I have pointed out the connexion between what in one gospel is called "entering into the kingdom of God," and what in another is called "being baptized of John." Without insisting again upon that connexion (which, however, is important in estimating the force of the argument from this verse in favour of infant baptism), it is sufficient for my present purpose to observe, that our Lord represents little children

as being of the kingdom of God, that kingdom which is not of this world. Nothing can be more forced and unnatural than the interpretation of some of our Baptist friends, who expound the phrase "of such," as if it denoted not little children themselves, but only such as resemble them, men of a childlike spirit and temper. But if those little children themselves were not of the kingdom of God, the reason which our blessed Lord assigns for their being brought to Him is singularly inappropriate. It fails in the application of the words "of such" to the parties immediately concerned. If such men as are like little children do, but little children themselves do not, belong to the kingdom of God, our Lord adduces a contrast rather than a comparison, in the particular relation of which he is speaking,—the position they occupy in his kingdom. Why should a child be brought to Jesus? According to the exposition of our Baptist friends, because not that child, but others like that child, belong to His kingdom. But how can the fact, that some others like that child are admitted into the kingdom of God, if that child himself be excluded, be any reason for bringing him to Christ? The others like him being admitted, renders his exclusion a reason, more significant by the contrast, in favour of those disciples who would prohibit them who brought him. Because our Lord, in laying his hands upon little children, recognized them as belonging to his kingdom, we also recognize them by the only sign of recognition we have received from the Lord Jesus. We receive such little children in the name of disciples by the token of a disciple or learner; that is, by baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

We further maintain that the words *τῶν τοιούτων*, "of such," necessarily include those children who were actually brought to Jesus. What shadow of authority is there for so translating the words as to exclude them to whom the reference was especially made? The phrase frequently



occurs in the New Testament, and the classical usage of the article in assigning definitiveness to the adjective is invariably observed. No other construction is admissible, as the following notices may satisfy the reader of the English Testament; or, if he be not satisfied, let him by the aid of the concordance examine all the passages in which the phrase occurs.

“Whom he collected with the workmen in *such things*.” (Acts xix. 25.) The shrines or images themselves, not things like shrines. “Away with *such a fellow* from the earth.” (Acts xxii. 22.) Paul himself, not some one else like him. “They who do *such things* are worthy of death.” (Romans i. 32.) The crimes previously mentioned. “We know that the judgment of God is according to truth against them that commit *such things*. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do *such things*?” (Romans ii. 2, 3.) The same sins. “For *such men* serve not the Lord Jesus.” (Romans xvi. 18.) Those previously mentioned being included. “To deliver *such an one* unto Satan.” (1 Cor. v. 5.) The wicked man himself, not another like him. With these and many more illustrations of this usage, we protest against every interpretation of the phrase, “of such is the kingdom of God,” which does not include the little children who were brought to Jesus. We also maintain, relying on the same invariable usage, both classical and sacred, that the resemblance implied in the words “*of such*” is to be referred to other little children of a like age, and not to men and women of a childlike disposition.

I must refer to the previous Lecture for what may be said to show that no persons disqualified for baptism could belong to the kingdom of God.

(3.) The manner in which the baptism of households is mentioned in the New Testament is in accordance with the views we have taken, in favour of the baptism of the children of every family brought under Christian instruction

I do not say that the mention of the baptism of a household would be of itself sufficient authority for the practice of infant baptism ; because the interpretation of such a phrase must very much depend upon the information we can elsewhere obtain, respecting the nature and object of the rite administered and the reason of its administration. If baptism is especially intended to be the specific act of a personal profession of faith in Christ, it is reasonable to think that it would be mentioned rather as the act of individuals than of families. But when in only nine instances of baptism in which the persons baptized are specified (and some of these, as the Ethiopian treasurer and Saul of Tarsus, had no families), three households are mentioned, it is reasonable to infer that these households were baptized, not because all their members were individually believers in Christ, but because they were the families of Lydia, of Stephanas, and of the Philippian jailor. If they were designated by baptism as persons received under elementary instruction, the propriety of mentioning them as households is sufficiently obvious ; and on the conversion of the head of the family, the members collectively under his superintendence would be placed under Christian instruction. If it be said there may have been no young children in those households, we reply, The objection is very little to the purpose. Whether there were or were not children, we are not told ; but we are told that the households were baptized, and therefore we conclude that baptism is something which can be done to households. As the baptism of households is mentioned in three instances, and as in some of the other instances there were no households, and might not have been in any, the incidental mention of these affords an argument of the nature of an undesigned coincidence with the evidence which has been adduced from other passages, to show that baptism in the apostolic age was administered to all who were brought under the instruction of the church.

Incidental allusions occurring in the phraseology of Scripture often afford a satisfactory test to which the several interpretations of controverted passages may be conveniently subjected. That God blessed the instruction afforded to such a baptized household may be learned from the testimony of the apostle, in favour of the household of Stephanas, written many years after its baptism,—“Ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the firstfruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints.”

(4.) Several allusions to children in the Epistles, are in accordance with the opinion that the children of Christians were regarded as under the training of the church, preparatory to the enjoyment of the privileges of its full communion. These children appear to have had that kind of connexion with the church which we have described; that is, they stood in the relation of learners or disciples.

In citing the words of the apostle, “For the unbelieving husband is made holy by his wife, and the unbelieving wife is made holy by her husband: otherwise your children were unclean; but now they are holy,” (1 Cor. vii. 14,) I do not adduce them as a direct argument in favour of infant baptism. To do so would be, I think, to make an unfair use of a very difficult passage. But if some evidence of the connexion of the children of believers with the church of their fathers can be deduced from other passages, the appropriateness of the allusion to such a state may afford some confirmation of that evidence, and may illustrate the position in which those children were placed in the apostolic age. Let us then observe the connexion of the apostle’s words, and consider whether they afford any confirmation of our argument. “If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the woman that hath a husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him. For the

unbelieving husband is made holy by his wife, and the unbelieving wife is made holy by her husband: otherwise your children were unclean; but now they are holy." On these words I observe:—

(1.) Whatever may be their obscurity in our eyes, their meaning must have been obvious to the members of the Corinthian church. The apostle was not speaking in parables, but assigning a good reason for the guidance of believers in their domestic relations. Occupying a position of considerable perplexity, between the claims of the church on the one hand and of their families on the other, many needed the plain direction of apostolic authority. The advice itself is very intelligible. Let not the believers forsake the unbelievers. The reason assigned in support of the advice ought to have been equally intelligible, and undoubtedly was so to the Corinthians. This difference between "unclean" and "holy" was then well understood; and if we cannot understand it, there must be something in our prevalent opinions or discipline, which has obliterated the ancient distinction.

(2.) The unity of idea, preserved in the several clauses of the apostle's words by the use of the cognate verb and adjective, is somewhat obscured in the authorized version, in which these words are variously rendered "sanctified" and "holy." Had the translation been, as I have given it, "The unbelieving husband is made *holy* by his wife, and the unbelieving wife is made *holy* by her husband: otherwise your children would be unclean; but now *they are holy*," the English reader would have readily perceived that the children were "holy," in the same sense as the unbelieving husband or wife was "made holy." We cannot admit a diversity of signification, so as to interpret the words as if they denoted two kinds of holiness, one of the parents, the other of the children. The holiness of which the apostle spoke, belonged equally to the unbelieving parent and to the children, and it was something



which would have been lost by the breaking up of the family, and the separation of the parents. This is implied in the clause "otherwise," or "since then indeed," "your children would be unclean." The apostle could not have intended personal holiness, for that did not belong to the unbelieving parent. Nor could he mean legitimacy, as some contend; for that also is inapplicable to the parents. Nor is the passage to be explained by that covenant relation which some Pædobaptists assert; for that could not have been attributed to the unbelieving husband or wife, unless, indeed, Mr. Greville Ewing was right in maintaining that all relations of affinity, as well as consanguinity, are thus sanctified. But if a family, of which either the father or the mother was a believer, was considered as being brought under the especial watchfulness and instruction of the church, so that the unbelieving (unless they refused its discipline), as well as the young, were considered as learners or catechumens, we can understand how the unbelieving parent was sanctified by the believing, and the children were not unclean but holy. Should it be said the unbelieving parent may have refused to listen to the admonitions of the church, we reply, the apostle's reason was valid, even though it might allow many exceptions. The believing parent was never to look upon the unbeliever as beyond the reach of instruction. So long as the unbelieving husband was content to live with the believing wife, she, though the weaker vessel, ought ever to act the part of a diligent catechist. Much more may this be said of the believing husband, in reference to the unbelieving wife. The family would thus be dedicated to God in the church, by a godly discipline. I know no other sense in which it can be said, "If the firstfruit be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches." The offspring have a recognized relation to their fathers' church, as the Israelites had with their fathers' covenant. If this relation

were designated by some external sign, like baptism, the language would be still more appropriate. As it is, the verse affords an harmonious connexion, if not an undesigned coincidence, with the baptism of the household of the believing woman Lydia, and of the believing man the Philippian jailor. Their children were not unclean but holy, and their households were baptized,—two facts of which we are quite sure.

Under this head I would refer to the exhortations in the Epistles, which were especially addressed to children. The Epistles were written to Christian churches, and the manner in which children were addressed seems to recognize them as sustaining some relation to those churches. That these children were of a tender age is evident, from the manner in which they are spoken of. Thus the apostle says, "And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." (Ephesians vi. 4.) As he speaks of reciprocal relations, we may infer, that to these same children he says, "Children, obey your parents; for this is right." And again, "Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well-pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged." (Colossians iii. 20, 21.) We ought to consider this exhortation as addressed to the children of the parents mentioned, that is, to all the children of Christian parents belonging to the church. That this does not prove these children were baptized, I fully admit. But it proves that they were specially addressed in letters to the churches; that they were, therefore, recognized as being in some sense connected with those churches, and were to be brought up by their parents in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord." That such children of a tender age, yet to be brought up in "the nurture and admonition of the Lord," were competent to undertake the duties and responsibilities of church members, seems to me very improbable. That all

such children of church members (and all are included in these admonitions) were so competent, is absolutely incredible. But all might have been learners; all might have borne to the church the relation of catechumens, and been dedicated to God by their parents. And if they were so, they would all belong to that class of persons who, as we have endeavoured to show by the evidence adduced in this and the preceding Lecture, were designated as learners by the baptismal service.

I must, in concluding this part of the subject, ask you to connect what has now been said with the reasoning of the preceding Lecture, on the subjects of Christian baptism. If enough has been said to prove that baptism was not restricted to accredited believers, but administered to other applicants as disciples or learners, these remarks may be sufficient to show that the children of believers are entitled to the same recognition as belonging to the kingdom of God. Of course, those who maintain believers' baptism exclusively in the case of adults, will not think these arguments sufficient to establish the propriety of children receiving the recognition of that service. But after what I have said upon that subject, in my reply to my honoured friend Dr. Wardlaw, there is no need for me to say anything more, upon the right of infants to participate in a service which, in the case of adults, belongs exclusively to believers.

It is not my duty to combine the arguments in favour of infant baptism, with those which support believers' baptism exclusively, so far as adults are concerned; for I do not profess to represent that class of Pædobaptists. What they have to say may, I think, be learnt from Dr. Wardlaw, more easily and clearly than from any other author with whom I am acquainted. But what I think of his argument I have already said, as candidly and distinctly as any Baptist brother can desire. As to the difference of opinion which prevails among Congregational-

ists, I have no defence to offer for my own denomination, nor do they need one. We think independently, and therefore our independent thinking sometimes brings us by different means to the same results.

Before I leave the subject of baptism, I would venture to solicit the attention of my brethren in the ministry to the importance of giving greater prominence to this part of our ecclesiastical discipline. We have here a wide sphere of usefulness, which we sadly neglect. A considerable proportion of our congregations consists of baptized youth, who are not admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper. Is not the church bound, by the act of its acknowledged pastor, to afford especial religious instruction to all such persons? and is not the pastor equally bound, by his own solemn engagement, to see that instruction duly provided? So many of these youths as are the children of church members, it is to be hoped, receive religious instruction at home. But ought this to satisfy us? It is true, the parents, in bringing their children to baptism, virtually profess their intention to train their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. But is not the pastor equally a party to the engagement, and is not the Church, whose minister he is, concerned to provide that his successor should undertake the continuance of his pastoral engagements? This ought not to be matter of private arrangement between the pastor and the parents. The baptized are the catechumens of the church, and more prominence should be given to the important place they occupy, in the arrangements which are made especially for their instruction, preparatory to their ultimate reception, on their personal profession of faith, into the fellowship and confidence of the Christian society.

If this discipline were rightly observed, our regular congregations would be divided into two recognized parts, the learners and the initiated,—those who “use milk, being unskilful in the word of righteousness;” and those “who,



by reason of use, have their faculties exercised to discern both good and evil." The learners are to be regarded as the lambs of the flock, and we know who hath said, "Feed my lambs." They may not yet be truly Christian; but they ought to be under the best arrangement and discipline to insure, as far as can be insured by human instrumentality under God's blessing, their becoming spiritual and perfect. We may address them in the appropriate words of Jesus to those "who believed on him," and yet, as clearly appears in the subsequent verses, were not truly regenerate. "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." So our catechumens, recognized as learners, and disciplined by our baptizing and teaching them, if they continue in the word of Christ, will know the truth, be made free by its purifying influence, and becoming disciples indeed, be accredited as spiritual (πνευματικοί) and perfect (τέλειοι) members of Christ's visible Church.

I would affectionately but earnestly suggest the inquiry, Is it not for us to revise our arrangements, and to make more adequate and regular provision for the scriptural instruction of this interesting part of our congregations? If it be thought that pastors have not sufficient time, or that, selected on account of their qualifications for other duties, they may not have the requisite abilities for successfully undertaking such a service, then I inquire, Why not secure some more appropriate instrumentality for so important a work? Why not obtain suitable assistance, or procure a suitable officer? Why not restore the ancient office of the catechist? Why not appoint a young minister, a student desiring to learn the pastor's work by observing the pastor's labours, who, in the office of the catechist, may be prepared, by appropriate training and occasional preaching, to become the colleague of the pastor or his successor in the work of the Lord? I cannot imagine a more suitable preparation for the full work of the

Christian ministry. But whatever position the catechist may occupy, the catechumenical instruction imperatively demands greater attention, and a more prominent place in our ecclesiastical arrangements.

If any object that there is no such officer as a catechist sanctioned in the New Testament, I reply, A teacher competent to instruct every class of learners, must be in accordance with the principles of the New Testament. The church is under the most solemn obligation to make adequate provision for the good instruction of all inquirers. It *must* find some means of doing this neglected work. And surely a catechist, or something very like one, may be found in the enumeration of the gifts with which Christ has enriched his church. "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. iv. 11—13.) "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." (1 Cor. xii. 4—6.) "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." (1 Cor. xii. 28.) Some of these gifts were supernatural, because such gifts were then absolutely necessary; but none was more necessary than is the gift of teaching the way of the Lord more perfectly to inquirers. If we must find direct scriptural authority for the office, I would suggest that the two words in the apostle's enumeration, (*ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις*), helpers, directors, mistranslated in our version "helps, governments," afford all the authority the most scrupu-

lous can require. Surely a helper may help the pastor in instructing the young, or a director may direct and overlook that most important service. The principles of church government, deduced from the apostolic writings, are sufficiently broad to sustain all needful administrations, without affording countenance to any which are superfluous. An instructor of the children who belong to the kingdom of heaven, is no superfluous workman in a church, whose pastor has not the time nor the adaptation for the acceptable and useful performance of such a service.

In reference to baptism there is another inquiry, of which some not unreasonably may expect a notice. By whom ought the rite to be administered?

In considering this inquiry, I have first to disclaim an opinion prevalent among some of our brethren, that the administration of Christian ordinances is to be invariably restricted to a class of church officers. In the absence of the extraordinary gifts with which the primitive church was endowed, the diversities of administration may be easily and safely arranged, as the voluntary regulations of a Christian society. When inspired authority is silent, Christian liberty is unrestricted. Undoubtedly the members of a church ought, in all their appointments, to regard the natural and acquired gifts of the brethren; for by such qualifications they seem designated of God for the various services of his church. God has given, and still gives, to his church "pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;" but it is the privilege and the duty of every church to select the gifted members for office, and to determine how many or how few should be appointed to teach the brethren, to instruct the catechumens, and to officiate in the various administrations of the church. Such appear to be the very simple and natural principles of church order found in the New Testament; and if the regulations be left with the members, as they ought to be,

it is for them to consider whether it will be most for their advantage to have one teacher exclusively devoted to the work of instruction, as is now usual in Congregational churches; or to have several partially engaged, and employing their remaining time in secular pursuits, as seems to have been the more general arrangement in the primitive churches. In all such matters every church has an inalienable right to make its own arrangements, and to determine what will most conduce to the edification of its members. On this principle, the administration of baptism may with great propriety be entrusted to the pastor, especially if he be supported by the general contributions, in order that, being relieved from secular cares, he may devote himself entirely to the service of the church. But it seems to me that a church may adopt any other course which may appear more eligible under its circumstances.

On reference to Scripture, we find little said about the administration of baptism. There are, however, two incidental notices which may afford some illustration of the subject. "Though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples" (John iv. 2). "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I baptized in mine own name. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas; besides, I know not whether I baptized any other. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel" (1 Cor. i. 14—17). From these two passages it appears, that neither our Lord nor the apostle Paul usually administered baptism. The words, "lest any should say I baptized in my own name," are often considered as the reason assigned by the apostle for not administering baptism. But this could not have been the reason why our Lord did not baptize; for his disciples, if baptized into any name, were baptized into his own. Nor did the apostle refrain from baptizing through any fear of unpleasant or injurious results, but because "Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." In perform-



ing his duty, he was not accustomed to anticipate unpleasant consequences.

I understand, therefore, the apostle to say, "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius; so that no one can say that I baptized in my own name." That the Greek particle will support this construction is undeniable, as may be shown by numerous citations, if it were worth while to show what nobody will deny, and any one may verify by referring to the Greek concordance. A result was obtained for which he was thankful to God.

It should also be observed, that when Paul made his first visit to Corinth, "many of the Corinthians hearing, believed, and were baptized;" and further, that Paul "continued there a year and six months." Yet, during that time, he baptized only two individuals and one family. As no church had been previously formed, we may conclude that the "many of the Corinthians" were baptized by his helpers or evangelists, as Titus and Timothy, "who ministered unto him."

The Apostle Peter, acting on the same principle, did not baptize Cornelius and his friends, but commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord.

As it thus appears that our Lord, during his public ministry, left the administration of baptism to his disciples; and the apostles, as far as we have any information, left it to their attendants; it is evident that it was not then considered one of the most important of the "differences of administration." If it was appropriated to any particular class, we should say, on looking over the list of officers in the apostolic age, it was probably assigned to the "helpers." "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles;" (these were not sent to baptize;) "secondarily, prophets; and thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles; then the gifts of healing, helpers, governors, diversities of tongues." So far as the imperfect evidence we have—and it is very imperfect—goes, the duty of baptizing was committed to

inferior officers, like the "helpers." Could we, however, as I have suggested, restore the catechist to his office, as a "helper" in the church, he might with great propriety designate, by the rite of baptism, his own catechumens, who would be prepared by him for the communion of the church.

If the apostles were sent, not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, and therefore could have no claim to an exclusive right to administer baptism, we may well express our wonder that any should claim such an exclusive right, on the pretext of their apostolic succession. They assume what those whom they call their predecessors never claimed, and therefore never could have conveyed to any who succeeded them.

If the administration of baptism be in the New Testament restricted to no class, and may therefore be determined by considerations of order and expediency, it cannot be needful to consider at any length the vehement disputes which have arisen at various times, concerning the validity of lay baptism, as it is called. It may be sufficient just to glance at the early testimony which may be produced on this subject. Undoubtedly, the bishops at a very early period claimed the right to administer baptism, to confer upon others the authority to administer it, and to confirm the baptism when thus administered. Out of the latter practice has grown, as I have observed in the first of these Lectures, the ceremony of episcopal confirmation. Thus it is said, in the Epistles of Ignatius (whatever little confidence may be placed in their authority),—"It is not lawful, without the bishop, either to baptize, or to keep the feast of Charity."\* So Tertullian

\* Ad Smyrnæos, c. viii. Since the publication of Mr. Cureton's "*Corpus Ignatianum*," few candid readers will place any confidence in this epistle, and especially in such a sentence. The discovery of the Syriac text of the epistles to Polycarp, the Romans, and the Ephesians, seems to prove that the other epistles, and especially such sentences as I have cited, are too doubtful to be of any use, if not certainly spurious.

says,—“The right of giving it (baptism) has the chief priest, that is, the bishop; then the presbyters and deacons; yet not without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the church, by the preservation of which peace is preserved. Otherwise, laymen also have the right; for that which is equally received, may be equally given.”—“The word of God ought not to be hidden from any. Wherefore baptism also, which is equally derived from God, may be equally administered by all; but how much is the duty of modesty and respect incumbent upon the laity! Since these things belong to the superior, let them not assume the official power of the episcopacy, reserved for the bishop.” (*De Bap. c. xvii.*)

This seems to express the general doctrine in the age of Tertullian and the succeeding times: the validity of lay baptism was acknowledged, but the administration of it, unless in circumstances of peculiar urgency, was considered disorderly and presumptuous. The later acknowledgment of the validity of lay baptism by the Catholic Church, notwithstanding its zealous assertion of the prerogative of the clergy to administer baptism, seems to have been derived from the tradition of the more ancient practice of the apostolic age, when baptism might be administered by any who undertook to teach, to any who were willing to be taught.

As to the conditional form of baptism prescribed in certain cases by the authority of the Church of England, I need not say how entirely unauthorized it is, not only by Scripture, but also by good ecclesiastical authority, as ecclesiastical authority is understood by orthodox Episcopalians, or even by Catholics. But the abuse of that service, as it is now practised to some extent by clergymen of the Tractarian school, deserves the severest censure of all parties. Intended to be insulting to Dissenters, it only shows the ignorance, or inconsistency, or arrogant pretensions of its administrator. It may be, therefore, worth while to ex-

pose it. It is undoubtedly the Catholic doctrine, (explain the word Catholic as we may, either as restricted to the Romish Church, or as including national Episcopal churches separated from Rome,) that lay baptism is valid, and ought on no account to be repeated. It is equally indisputable, from the authority of the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, and from the prevalent practice from that time in the Western Church, that baptism administered in the name of the Trinity was valid, and therefore not to be repeated. And even in the Eastern Church, where heretical baptism was regarded with more suspicion, baptism by schismatical teachers was held to be sufficient. At the time of the Reformation, the English Church, in common with the whole Western Church, was under the Canon Law, which expressly declared that "Baptism administered in the name of the Trinity is not to be repeated," and that Baptism, although administered by laics, is valid.\* After the Reformation in England, the old Rubric of Edward VI. directed the private baptism of infants, in cases of emergency. "Let those that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer; and then one of them (a minister is not supposed to be present) shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words,—I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen," The same Rubric expressly directs ministers to instruct their parishioners in the form of administering private baptism. "In fact," says Sir John Nicholl, in his *Judgments* (*Kemp v. Wicks*), "it appears that all private baptisms were administered by the laity." Afterwards the Rubric was altered, and private baptism was directed to be solemnized by a minister; but the validity of lay baptism was not impugned. The man who would rebaptize in such circumstances is, according to the judg-

\* See Sir John Nicholl's Judgment in the case of *Wicks*.—Sketch of Dis-senting Deputies, p. 71.



ment of the Catholic and English Church, a downright Anabaptist. On turning to the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, we find the form of publicly certifying the private baptism of a child. The questions appointed to be asked of those who bring the child to the church are,—“By whom was this child baptized? Who was present when this child was baptized? Because some things essential to this sacrament may happen to be omitted, through fear or haste, in such times of extremity; therefore I demand further of you—With what matter was this child baptized? With what words was this child baptized?” (It is evident that the “things essential” are, the matter, water, and the words, the name of the Trinity. Nothing else is required, and no question is proposed about the administrator. The questions rather suppose that a clergyman was not present; for if one had been engaged, he would surely have known how to administer the rite.) “But if they who bring the infant to the church do make such uncertain answers to the priest’s questions, as that it cannot appear that the child was baptized with *water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* (which are essential parts of baptism), then let the priest baptize it in the form before appointed for the public baptism of infants; saving that, at the dipping of the child into the font, he shall use this form of words,—If thou art not already baptized, N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.” I have intimated that of such a figment of baptism, so utterly unauthorized by Scripture, or even early ecclesiastical authority, it is not worth the while to say anything. But will it be credited, that our greatest zealots in defence of the practices of the ancient and universal church, our loudest declaimers on the deference due to antiquity and catholicity, are united in the practice and defence of an abuse of this conditional baptism, for which they can plead the authority of no church, not even of

that in which they minister,—of no usage in any age prior to their own birthdays? In opposition to their daily reiterated protest against the innovations of modern times, they are the greatest of all innovators. They use this form of conditional baptism, and defend the use of it, when they know that the persons have been previously baptized with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, because they have been baptized by dissenting ministers. Nor is there any pretence for imputing heresy, in the ecclesiastical sense of the term, to the persons who have administered the previous baptism. Heresy is not alleged; and if it were, by no church law which they acknowledge, are they constituted a tribunal to pronounce a sentence of excommunication for heresy upon those whom their own church acknowledges to have a right to its communion in the Lord's Supper, to be eligible for ordination, without being re-baptized, as its deacons, presbyters, and bishops, and to be entitled to the last fraternal recognition of Christian love in the prayers and other solemnities of the Burial Service. Besides, if the baptizers were heretics, pronounced such by a competent tribunal, according to the Western Church, of which Tractarians say the Anglo-Catholic Church is a branch, their baptism is not to be repeated. The most that is pretended by Tractarians is, that Dissenters are in schism, and ought to be treated as schismatics. But schismatical baptism, even in the East, where heretical baptism was disowned, was never declared to be invalid. The Greek, as well as the Latin, would tremble at the profanity of re-baptizing under such circumstances. It is true, the Greeks at times have re-baptized proselytes from the Latin Church; but they have done so, avowedly, because the Latin Church was deemed heretical as to the third person of the Trinity. The authority of the North African Church may be adduced in this controversy. But, as appears from Tertullian, Cyprian, and the proceedings of the two

councils held at Carthage upon the subject, the doctrine of the African churches was essentially the same as that of the churches of Asia Minor. Heretical baptism, not lay baptism, was the matter of angry disputation between Rome and Carthage. The same remark applies to the Alexandrian Church of that time; as appeared when the poor unhappy Gnostic, during the episcopate of Dionysius, on witnessing the administration of baptism, entreated, with many tears, to be baptized, on the ground that the heretical baptism, which he abjured, was nothing like the Christian baptism, nor had anything in common with it, but was full of profanity and blasphemy.\* On such ground the North African, the Alexandrian, and the Asiatic Churches rejected heretical baptism. But what say the Tractarians? In the Library of the Fathers there is a translation of Tertullian, by the Rev. C. Dodgson, M.A., with a preface by E. B. P. (Edward Bouverie Pusey). In the translation of a passage in the treatise *De Bapt.*, c. xv., is appended a note, which concludes with these words,—“The practice now adopted by the Scotch Church and in our own, with regard to persons baptized by such as are not only in schism, but never received any commission to baptize (a case to which there is no parallel in the early church), unites the advantages of the Latin and Greek practice; of the Latin, in that it avoids the risk of real re-baptizing, which the ancients regarded as a profanation of the Sacred Names; of the Greek, in that it does what it can to provide that none of the blessings and grace of baptism be lost through our omission; and it is an act of piety towards God, desiring that whatever may have hitherto been lacking, be supplied.” (page 297.)

It is painful to cite such statements as these. The authority of all churches, which Tractarians are at other times so ready to plead in opposition to their opponents, is here utterly disregarded. A practice is defended in

\* Eus. vii. 9.

opposition to all ecclesiastical usage; and in arrogating to themselves the exclusive right of administering baptism, these High Churchmen betray the most glaring inconsistency with their own vaunted authorities of faith and practice. Almost every assertion in these few lines is false and evasive. As to "the practice now adopted" by their own church, "with regard to persons baptized by such as are not only in schism, but never received any commission to baptize," it is evident, on appeal to the history and decisions of that church, that conditional baptism is to be administered only when it does not certainly appear that water has been used, and the Sacred Names repeated. The character of the administrator is not regarded. Again, the validity of baptism is, in their own church, not made dependent upon the administrator having "received any commission to baptize;" for, as we have seen, according to its authority, laymen and even women can administer valid baptism. Upon this question, indeed, all traditions coincide, all church authorities agree. If any opinion can be called Catholic, any tradition universal, it is that lay baptism is valid. To re-baptize, because the administrator of a former baptism had no commission to baptize, is to act in opposition to all ecclesiastical authority. We are further told, that such a usage "unites the advantages of the Latin and Greek practice." On the contrary, it is opposed to both; to the Latin practice, which recognized all baptism in the name of the Trinity; and to the Greek, which, disowning heretical baptism, still acknowledged that of persons in a state of schism. Verily, the old leaven which formerly corrupted the doctrine of the church, is working in modern times. The usages of antiquity are sought for a pretext to cover the ambitious designs of High Churchmen, who would exalt their order on the destruction of the liberties wherewith Christ hath made his people free. We are authorized to employ this language, when we find men disregard ancient usage,



Catholic tradition, and ecclesiastical authority, for which, elsewhere, they most zealously plead, if by so doing they can promote the object they ever keep in view—the elevation of the priesthood to which they belong, and for the honour of which they depreciate the administrations and services of others, who are no more in schism with regard to them, than they are in schism with regard to the Catholic Church, be that the Latin, or the Greek, or any church whatever, other than the Parliamentary Church, which owes its existence and its forms, its constitution and its canons, to the Acts of Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, James, and Charles. These are thy gods, O Israel! These are your authorities, O ye who profess to cite the names of the ancient Fathers, and the acts of general councils! Yet all these authorities, spiritual and secular, Catholic and Parliamentary, patristic and royal, fail you in your defence of administering anabaptism to those who have been baptized by dissenting ministers.

## LECTURE IX.

### THE COMMUNICANTS AT THE LORD'S SUPPER.

“For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.”—1 *Cor.* v. 7. 8.

IN the Second Lecture of the preceding course, “On the Perpetuity and Design of the Sacraments,” I have adduced reasons for believing that the Lord’s Supper is a perpetual ordinance of the Christian church. The argument upon that question I may be allowed to consider as already disposed of, for I have met with no such objections as appear to require any specific notice.

In passing from baptism to the Lord’s Supper, I must briefly advert to what has been already said on the design of the two ritual observances, in so far as they could be considered as having a common design, in representing important truth by appropriate emblems. In opposition to the decrees of the Council of Trent, I endeavoured to show that they were not designed to confer grace, nor to be the especial means of conveying it, either by the *opus operatum*, the proper performance of the priest, or the *opus operantis*, the worthy reception of the communicant. In opposition to many Protestants, the sacraments were regarded not as ratifications of the Evangelical Covenant, nor seals of its blessings given to the worthy recipients, but as symbolic representations of Divine truth, appointed to commemorate or illustrate the most important facts and

doctrines of the Gospel. The truth exhibited in the Sacraments, as when it is proposed in words, being apprehended by the understanding, may prove the means by which Divine grace is communicated ; but then the truth, not the symbol, the doctrine, not the Sacrament, conveys the benefit to the recipient, as it may do with the same effect to the mind of a spectator. A recurrence to this statement is necessary to show what yet remains for our consideration. Having seen that the Lord's Supper, as well as baptism, is an emblematical representation of evangelical truth, the inquiry which remains is, Of what specific truth is it the emblem, or the commemoration ?

Before we proceed to this inquiry, it may be desirable to ascertain the progress already made in determining who are the proper persons to participate in the Lord's Supper. It would be in more natural and logical order to determine, first, what the Lord's Supper is, and afterwards, who should partake of it. But as our attention has been recently directed to a class of baptized persons in preparation for the Lord's Supper, it will preserve the connexion of the two parts of our subject, if we first consider the proper persons to be admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper.

We have already adverted to the reasons of the distinction for which we contend, between applicants for baptism and candidates for the full communion of a Christian church. There is no reason to assume that two ordinances so different are to be restricted to the same persons. Their objects and the truths they illustrate may be so distinct, as to render it unsafe to make the limitation of one ordinance any restriction upon the administration of the other. In the New Testament they are never so brought into connexion, as to intimate that the same qualifications are indispensable for the proper reception of both. Having, in a previous Lecture upon Baptism, noticed the popular objection to our views, founded upon the supposed con-

nexion of the two ritual observances, I have now only to consider the scriptural reasons for believing that the communion of the Lord's Supper is intended for a more restricted class than the designation of baptism. It will be unnecessary to repeat the reasons for what I am about to state, respecting the extent of baptism; for, be they good or bad, they have been already adduced at quite sufficient length. The evidence now to be adduced, is in proof of the restriction of the Lord's Supper to those who make a credible profession of religion. In support of the distinction, I observe:—

1. Baptism was in the apostolic age administered on the introduction to a Christian course, but the Lord's Supper was in no respect introductory to anything succeeding it in the life of a Christian. Whether the proper subject of baptism be a learner or a young believer, all agree that baptism is appropriate to the early part of his course. Whether Baptists or Pædobaptists be right in the interpretation of scriptural baptism, the baptisms specified in the New Testament were administered, as we have already observed, on the first opportunity after the applicants had heard the preaching of the gospel. But the Lord's Supper was to be "*often*" observed,—“For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.” Thus, we do not find the ordinance of the Lord's Supper pressed upon the immediate attention of the young inquirer, or even the new convert, as baptism was recommended to the multitude of inquirers on the day of Pentecost, or to Saul of Tarsus on his first interview with Ananias.

2. The varied phraseology in which baptism and the Lord's Supper are noticed suggests the inference, that there was a considerable difference in the qualifications for the two ordinances. The contrast is very decided, and quite unaccountable, if the same qualifications were required. What a change would be immediately wrought in



the opinions and usages of Congregational churches, if they discovered some hitherto unobserved texts (say, for instance, in a manuscript older than any we now possess, or the autograph of an inspired apostle), containing the words, "Go ye, therefore, and disciple all nations, giving them the Lord's Supper;" "Repent and take the Lord's Supper, every one of you, for the remission of sins;" "And now, why tarriest thou? arise, and take the Lord's Supper, and wash away thy sins." I appeal to the candour of every Baptist, whether he would not feel that such passages were inconsistent with the impression he had received from the reading of our present Scriptures, and whether they would not shake his confidence in the integrity of any manuscript which contained them? But our argument is not now with Baptists, but rather with those who differ from us in the qualifications requisite for admission, not to baptism, but to the Lord's Supper. In reply to them, the texts as we find them—"Repent and be baptized," "Arise and be baptized"—are quite sufficient to protect us from the charge of inconsistency in this matter. On the other hand, the directions for the Lord's Supper are, "But *let a man examine himself*, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." "Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Need I say we have no such language, nor anything like it, in reference to baptism?

3. The extent of the administration of baptism during the ministry of our Lord upon earth, affords a remarkable contrast with the select company of disciples among whom he instituted the commemoration of his death.

I do not mean to assert, that the selection of the persons whom our Lord collected around him at the institution

of the Supper was intended to be the rule for its administration in all succeeding ages. A similar occasion can never recur. But the facts, that John administered baptism to great multitudes of all classes; and that Jesus "made and baptized more disciples than John," considered in connexion with the limited number with whom Jesus partook of the Last Supper, intimate some difference in the extent of the administration of the two ordinances, and in the classes of persons to whom they are respectively appropriate. During the personal ministry of our Lord upon earth, many thousands were baptized; but only a very few select friends had communion with him in the Last Supper. It would, therefore, be unjustifiable to infer from the extent of the previous or subsequent administration of baptism, anything respecting the qualifications for the communion of the Lord's Supper.

4. Baptism, as we have already observed, was administered on the sole responsibility of the administrator, acting without the authority of any church; but the Lord's Supper is a united service of a Christian church, acting in its social character, and recognizing the communicants as members together of the mystical body of Christ.

How baptism was administered in the apostolic age, we have seen in a preceding Lecture. The teacher baptized the taught, without the interposition of a church, or of any other party. But the Lord's Supper is a communion (*κοινωνία*), a common participation. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16.) The bread and wine represent the body and blood of Christ, and our partaking of them represents our common participation of the blessings obtained by the offering of the body and blood of Jesus. The word *κοινωνία* thus preserves its etymological signification, as the adjective *κοινός*, denoting that which is common to several, and the verb *κοινώνειν*,

to make common and to profane, as "He hath profaned this sacred place" (Acts xxi. 28), by making it common to the Gentiles; and also the verb *κοινωνεῖν*, to have a share, as, "Nor have a participation of other men's sins" (1 Tim. v. 22). Thus the apostle observes in the succeeding verse, "For we being many are one bread and one body; for *we are all partakers* of that one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17). There is a common participation by many in the emblems of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus, and this is symbolical of their common participation in the benefits of his sacrificial death. It also represents the common union of all with Christ, of whom they partake, and with one another, as they being many are represented as one body, by partaking of the same bread and wine. This common participation is indispensable in a sacred service, in which many are to be represented as one in Christ Jesus.

So in the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the apostle says, "When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper. For in eating, every one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry and another is drunken." This passage admits of two interpretations, but either will support the opinion for which we adduce the citation.

It may be explained, "When ye come together to one place," I do not recognize your service as the Lord's Supper; "for in eating every one taketh before other his own supper;" that is, he eats the Lord's Supper, the feast of the whole church, as if it were his own, when it is convenient to himself; and the consequence is, one is hungry, and another takes too much. If this be the correct interpretation, the apostle will not allow a separate meal of a section of the church to be called the Lord's Supper. It is only their own supper—the supper of the faction which sits down together. The apostle had previously said, "I hear that there are divisions among you." The sad consequence of those unhappy divisions was, that

the Corinthians would not sit together at the Lord's Supper, and therefore did not observe a common participation. On this interpretation, the Lord's Supper is a common service of a united church—a communion of saints, represented by their partaking of one bread.

The other interpretation of the passage supposes that the supper designated in the 21st verse, "his own supper," was not the Lord's Supper, nor regarded as such by the Corinthians themselves, but a friendly meal of which they partook previously to the Lord's Supper. Many commentators suppose, with Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, that these feasts were the Agapæ observed in the Corinthian church previously to the Lord's Supper. If this be the correct sense of the passage, the apostle forbids the providing of such feasts in the one place in which they came together:—"What! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not?" He then proceeds (for so we must understand him) to give directions for the observance of the Lord's Supper, in which there was to be nothing which might shame or grieve those who had not enough for their own supper, or afford an opportunity for excess to those who had more than sufficient. They were to eat of one bread and to drink of one cup, according to the example of the Lord Jesus. The apostle concludes with this direction: "Therefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at home, that ye come not together unto condemnation; and the rest will I set in order when I come." The Corinthians were therefore "*to come together to eat*;" they were "*to tarry one for another*." Their eating together of one bread was the emblem of their union as one church of Christ." The common participation of this observance was so important, that the apostle would not tolerate the abuse, even for a few months, until he could visit them, and reform the disorders of the church. Our



inference is, that the Lord's Supper is essentially a social observance, a service of the whole church, or a communion of saints. No private observance, no man's own supper, no supper of a section of the church, is to be called the Lord's Supper.

In accordance with this conclusion, we read, "Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples *came together* to break bread, Paul preached unto them." (Acts xx. 7.) The object they had in view in coming together was to eat the Lord's Supper. This commemoration was to be observed, not as a private meeting of friends, but as a public assembly of Christians.\* They were gathered together, not in a common room, but in a large upper chamber, where many lamps were lighted, and where Paul was long preaching. The reading of the narrative leaves no doubt upon the mind, that the disciples in Troas came together in their customary manner; that an appropriate place was secured, and sufficient lamps provided, for a considerable congregation; and that Paul, associating himself with them in their communion, took that opportunity of preaching to them. They came together, not to hear Paul preach, but to break bread. But we never read of the disciples coming together to a baptizing, although we read of baptism in a private house, baptism in a prison, and baptism in a desert. This is just what consistency would require, if baptism were administered personally, without any reference to the authority of the church, and the Lord's Supper were a social service, for which the whole church came together at an appointed time. Private baptisms are scriptural, but private celebrations of the Lord's Supper are unscriptural; and the difference of administration is to be explained by the different character

\* Another reading preferred by the best critics is, "We being come together to break bread, Paul preached unto them." But if this reading be correct, as it is the better supported, it is evident from the narrative, that not only the companions of the apostles, but a very considerable number of other persons were present.

of the ordinances themselves ; the Lord's Supper is, but baptism is not, a communion of saints.

But if the Lord's Supper be a social ordinance of the church, representing the communion with Christ of the members of his body, it is evident that the only proper persons to be thus associated in the emblems are those who are associated in reality ; that is, the accredited members of a Christian church. They being many are one, the several members of one body of Christ. It is for them to come together to break bread, to eat of one loaf, to drink of one cup ; not to take each his own supper beforehand, but to tarry for one another, that they may eat the Lord's Supper.

5. If the observance of the Lord's Supper be the social communion of a church, only the persons who properly constitute a church are qualified to participate in it. Although it would lead us too far from our subject to pursue in all its detail the inquiry respecting the proper qualifications for church-fellowship, yet some attention must be given to it, or we fail to ascertain the character of the persons who ought to be admitted to the table of the Lord. It will be observed that the word "church" is used with that signification which is given to it in such phrases as "the church of Corinth," "the church of Cenchrea," and "the churches of Galatia."

What we have to say upon this part of the subject may be comprised under two propositions :—1. That a church ought to consist of truly Christian persons. 2. That the members of a church are the proper persons to decide upon the qualifications of candidates for its communion.

In support of the first proposition, that a Christian church ought to consist of truly Christian persons, it may be sufficient to adduce the apostle's words, addressed to the church of Corinth :—"Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God

destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.) These words, standing alone, prove all that we assert. The church is represented as the temple of God, and unholy men are to be condemned for profaning that temple. But connected with the passage, we have an account of the building of this spiritual temple. The materials introduced are gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble. The apostle expressly forbids the introduction of the bad materials, which will not endure the test of the fire: "Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereon." Offences must needs come; false brethren are unawares brought in. But the doctrine of the apostle is, that, as far as in the judgment of charity we can decide, no wicked persons ought to be introduced. In accordance with this doctrine we shall hereafter see he directs the Corinthians to purge out the old leaven, or to exclude ungodly persons from their society.

The second proposition is, that the church itself is to decide upon the qualifications of all applicants for its communion. This proposition will probably have to encounter more opposition than the former, and from two parties—those who think that no judgment at all ought to be expressed upon the religious character of applicants for communion, and those who think that judgment ought to be expressed, not by the church, but by its acknowledged office-bearers.

Upon this subject the directions given to the Corinthian church in reference to the exclusion of an unworthy member, appear to me to refute both classes of objectors so completely, that I shall best secure brevity by adducing them in support of the proposition. Let it be observed, we are not considering the manner in which a church should obtain satisfaction, or the degree of satisfaction which it should obtain. The amount of our statement is, that a church should have confidence in the Christian character of its communicants, and should express that confidence by its act of fraternal recognition.

The apostle had heard from common report, that a very unworthy man was a member of the Corinthian church. The scandal, he had good reason to believe, was true. He writes, "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed." (1 Cor. v. 3.) The apostle having thus considered what ought to be done, proceeds, not to excommunicate the offender by any authority with which he was invested, but as an inspired man, by virtue of his possession of the Holy Spirit, to give directions how the church ought to act with regard to him. He gives these directions, not to the officers, nor to any court of authority; but to the members of the church. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ." The apostle requires the church to be "*gathered together*," that by its own act it might exclude the offender; and he invested that act with no less a sanction than the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ. Unquestionably the officers might make previous inquiries, collect the evidence, and submit the case to the deliberate consideration of the assembly; but the decision was to be the judicial and solemn act of the assembled church. That act is described in terms intended to show with what solemnity it is invested, and what responsibility belongs to it—a responsibility too heavy to be assumed by individuals, or by any court, except that which the apostle declares to be endowed "with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ,"—"to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." That the delivery unto Satan denotes the exclusion from the church, is made evident by the subsequent verses:—"Your glorying is not good. Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened." That in thus charging the



Corinthian church, the apostle had especial reference to the purity of their communion in their commemoration of the death of Christ, may be inferred from the introduction of the words, "For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us : therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness ; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators : yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters ; for then must ye needs go out of the world. But now I have written unto you not to keep company, *if any man that is called a brother* be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner ; with such an one no not to eat. For what have I to do to judge them also that are without ? Do not ye judge them that are within ? But them that are without God judgeth. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person." (1 Cor. v. 7—13.) In these words we have a distinction clearly stated between those who were within the church and those without. Those within the church were known as a separate society, united by some well-understood principles. While the judgment of those without was reserved with God, the judgment of those within was distinctly entrusted to the church, whose decision upon charges of fornication, covetousness, idolatry, railing, drunkenness, extortion, and, we may surely add to this enumeration, other scandalous offences, was to be solemnly pronounced by the assembly of the members, and to be carried into effect by the exclusion of the guilty persons. With these excluded persons the members were to have no more religious intercourse,—"*no not to eat.*" Every man pronounced an offender was, therefore, on the deliberate judgment of the church, to be prohibited from communicating in the Lord's Supper.

In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the apostle

seems to recur to this particular case: "If any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me but in part; that I may not overcharge you all. Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted 'of many;'" more correctly "by the majority" (ὕπὸ τῶν πλείονων). (2 Cor. ii. 5, 6.) This phrase "by the majority," seems to intimate that there was a minority, who opposed the sentence ultimately carried. As there was a faction opposed to the apostle Paul, it is not improbable that they objected to the course of proceeding which he had recommended.

But whatever was the nature of the opposition, we have an instance of a sentence of the majority sanctioned by the apostle, as the decision of the church. This fact is, in our estimation, quite a sufficient defence against the contemptuous observations we sometimes hear about the majorities and minorities of Congregational churches.

The Corinthian church, there can be little doubt, on receiving the first epistle, "gathered together" in compliance with the directions of the apostle, and "by the majority" passed a sentence of exclusion upon the unworthy member. In consequence of this sentence he was brought to a deep sense of his sin, and much sorrow on account of it, "lest, perhaps, such an one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow." The end proposed was accomplished in "the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." But if this were not the exact history of this unworthy man, or if the reference in the second epistle was not to the person mentioned in the first, our conclusion, in its most important particulars, remains undisturbed. Some sentence had been passed by the majority to mark their disapprobation of the improper conduct of one of their communion, and the apostle recognized the authority of that sentence, and declared it to have been sufficient. If, as I believe, the references in both epistles are to the same offender, we have a more complete view of the whole proceedings.

But if they are not, we have two instances in which the sentence of a church was passed upon an offender; one according to the direction of the apostle, the other with the sanction of his approval. Either interpretation sustains our argument.

That these things were done according to an immediate direction of the apostle, is an objection to which no consideration can be attached. What else, that was done rightly in the first age of the church, was not done under apostolic sanction, or in obedience to inspired authority? The apostolic direction is the strength of our argument, our infallible authority and highest precedent. The apostle knew that he was writing an epistle which would become the directory for the discipline of Christian churches to the end of the world. If he had thought proper, he might have accomplished his object without submitting the case of the offender to the decision of the whole church convened for the purpose. He might, on his own authority, have excommunicated the unworthy member, and peremptorily have forbidden the disciples to have any further communion with him. But, though invested with apostolic authority, he would not interfere with the discipline and self-government of the Corinthian church. Or, if the excommunication of an offender ought to have been entrusted to any officers who had authority to act independently of the church, he might easily have given his directions to the bishops or the deacons, or to whatever persons it belonged, to do that which he so plainly directed to be done by the assembled church, and afterwards so distinctly recognized as having been well done by its majority. His directions, in whatever light they are observed, appear obligatory upon Christian churches in all ages.

It may be almost superfluous to observe, that if the right of exclusion belongs to a church, the right of admission must belong to it also. One implies the other. The admission into the primitive churches may not have been

so formal and solemn an act as was the exclusion from their communion; but if a church had really the power of exclusion, it must have had virtually the power of admission. Both depended upon a judgment of character.

This power is distinctly recognized by the apostle, who, as in the instance of exclusion, gives directions for its proper exercise. Writing "to all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints," he says—"Him that is weak in the faith receive ye" (*προσλαμβάνεσθε*, take to yourselves). (Romans xiv. 1.) Whatever may be the precise import of these words, they undoubtedly imply, if they do not specifically direct, reception into the society of the brethren and the communion of the Lord's Supper. The "taking to themselves" could not have included less than the recognition of the weak as Christian brethren, and therefore their reception into the fellowship of the church. Had this reception been entrusted to the bishops or deacons or office-bearers of any kind, the apostle could easily have given his direction to any such authorities. But by giving it to the members of the church generally, he recognized their power to receive applicants into their communion. This passage, it may be observed, implies also an indirect argument in favour of purity of communion; for it is very obvious that the direction to "receive the weak in the faith," conveys by implication the prohibition to receive the absolutely unbelieving.

We therefore conclude that, as baptism was administered by Christian teachers without any reference to the suffrages or authority of any church, the baptized catechumens were approved by the act of a church on receiving them into its fellowship, and that all such accredited members participated in the communion of the Lord's Supper.

It appears not improbable that the apostle called such approved church members "the spiritual," when he said, "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness."



(Gal. vi. 1.) I think so—1st. Because the spiritual were distinguished from others called the carnal, who yet had some connexion with the Christian congregation, and who could have been no more than learners of the Christian doctrine. 2nd. Because the apostle elsewhere (1 Cor. iii. 1), distinguishing the “spiritual” from the “carnal,” calls the latter babes in Christ,—“And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ.” The inference is that, if the carnal were called “babes in Christ,” the learners of the first principles of the gospel, who were to be “fed with milk and not with meat,” who might be expected to fall into divisions, and walk as men, by saying of the respective teachers who baptized them, I am of this man, and I of that, the spiritual were the accredited professors, who, being united in Christian fellowship with the whole church, were blamed by the apostle for acting as if they were carnal, saying, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos. 3rd. Because the apostle here imposes upon the spiritual the duty of restoring the penitent; just as in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, he directs the *members* to remit the sentence of exclusion which had been pronounced by the majority.

To the opinion that a Christian church should consist only of those persons whose profession of personal religion is accredited and approved by their brethren, it has been objected that some of our Lord's parables contain a very different representation of the kingdom of heaven. Reference has been made especially to the parable in which “the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field, but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat.” (Matt. xiii. 24—30.) It is said, with some appearance of truth, that when the tares appeared, although the servants easily distinguished them, they were to grow together with the wheat until the harvest. So the bad fishes in the net, which represents

the kingdom of heaven, were not to be separated from the good until the end of the world.

In reply to this plausible objection, it has been said, and with justice, we are not to press closely upon the details of a parable, in which some one great principle is usually illustrated, and the several minor incidents are introduced, merely to give interest and vividness to the illustration. That the good and bad are found together under the most faithful preaching of the gospel, and cannot be separated by any wisdom of man, seems to have been the truth which our Lord intended to illustrate. His disciples were forbidden to break up the several relations of life, by harsh and persecuting measures, directed against those who, however unworthy, would in due time be overtaken by the just judgments of God. By such an interpretation of these parables, we deduce from them exactly the same truth as that which the apostle teaches. "For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? Do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth."

If the words of our Lord, "Let both grow together until the harvest," be interpreted, as if they meant, Let the ungodly remain with the pious in the communion of the Christian church; the interpretation is directly opposed to the express command of the apostle, "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat." (1 Cor. v. 11.) The prohibition of the apostle is very distinct and peremptory: his words admit of but one interpretation: they refer only to such as are called brethren. We are to "put away from ourselves that wicked person," because he is "called a brother." However the parable of our Lord may be interpreted, we can admit no explanation which sanctions our keeping company with the ungodly, or acknowledging them as Christian brethren.

After their exclusion from the church, its authority over them terminates. In their temporal affairs it has no right to disturb them. "What have I to do, to judge them that are without?" Let those associated in the secular business, or ordinary relations of life, grow together, as tares and wheat, until the harvest. Our Lord and his apostle must be interpreted as speaking consistently with each other. A prohibition of the abuse of church authority, by interfering with the secular or domestic relations of life, is quite consistent with an exhortation to exercise that authority faithfully, in preserving the purity of the church itself.

It should also be observed, that the expression of our Lord, "the kingdom of heaven," does not appear to mean precisely the same thing as a church or society, from which Paul would have the unworthy member excluded. "And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence," says our Lord, "and the violent take it by force." These words occur in the Gospel of Matthew, but the Evangelist Luke, in recording the same address of our Lord to the multitude, inserts in the place which they occupy, the words, "And all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John." (Compare Matthew xi. 12, with Luke vii. 29.) It appears, therefore, that the multitudes who were baptized by John, and by the disciples of Jesus, are represented by Matthew as "pressing into the kingdom of heaven." In the general interest which was excited, they seemed as if they would take that kingdom by force. If the views we have proposed of the subjects of baptism be correct, we obtain in these passages a principle by which we can easily reconcile the parables of our Lord and the directions of the apostle. If those who are willing to receive religious instruction ought to obtain that recognition of learners, which, as we have contended, baptism expresses, but ought not to be received into the confidential

fellowship of a particular church, unless they appear to be not only learners of the truth, but also subject to its sanctifying influence, we see how, in one sense, the kingdom of heaven may include the tares and the wheat, as having a general interest in its arrangements for their instruction ; and, in another, only those whose character is sufficiently consistent to gain the confidence of a Christian society, should be admitted to the privilege of its communion.

As to another objection, which has been sometimes adduced, that Judas was present at the institution of the Supper, it may be quite sufficient to reply, that so far from there being any proof that Judas was present on that occasion, the preponderance of the evidence on the comparison of the several Gospels, as we shall hereafter show, is in favour of the opposite opinion. But even admitting that he was present, and partook of the sacred emblems, the admission determines nothing in this controversy. If he were present, was he not there as an apostle ? and did he not eat as one of the twelve ? In the intercourse of our blessed Lord with his twelve apostles, he never made any distinction between the traitor and the faithful, until the act of treachery was discovered. Although Jesus knew what was in man, he made no use of that knowledge, so far as Judas was concerned ; but left his character to the probation to which all the other apostles were subjected. Why our Lord should have so acted, may be a question of some difficulty ; but that he did so act is undeniable. To adduce the instance of Judas as a precedent for the admission of ungodly persons to the Lord's Supper, is with the same breath to furnish a precedent for the appointment of the vilest and most unprincipled men to the highest offices of the Christian church.

Although no man can say with certainty that Judas partook of the Lord's Supper, it is absolutely certain that he "obtained part of this ministry." Yet the probability, or rather possibility, of the former, has been pleaded, by those



who would not dare to adduce the certainty of the latter, as a precedent for the imitation of the church.

But, on comparing the Gospels, it appears that Judas Iscariot left the room before the institution of the Lord's Supper. Three of the Evangelists preserve such an order in their relation of the incidents of that evening that, were it not for the arrangement of the Gospel of Luke, there could not be the slightest doubt upon the subject. According to the relation of John, Judas went out when he had received the sop which was given him in the course of the paschal supper. As John has given the most detailed and complete account of the events of that evening, his narrative is of the greatest importance in illustrating the apparent discrepancies of the preceding Gospels. His statement, considered in connexion with the accounts of Matthew and Mark, supplies a clear and consistent narrative. John says (xiii. 21—30), "When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake. Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved. Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, that he should ask who it should be of whom he spake. He then lying on Jesus' breast saith unto him, Lord, who is it? Jesus answered, He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the sop Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly. Now no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him. For some of them thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast; or, that he should give something to the poor. He then having received the sop went *immediately* out: and it was night." From this narrative we should infer that Judas left the

room during the passover. But if there were any reasonable doubt, Matthew and Mark entirely resolve it. Matthew says (xxvi. 19—25), “And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they made ready the passover. Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve. And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say unto him, Lord, is it I? And he answered and said, He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me. The Son of man goeth as it is written of him: but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it had been good for that man if he had not been born. Then Judas, which betrayed him, said, Master, is it I? He said unto him, Thou hast said.” This is evidently the relation, by a different witness, of the same events as those which are mentioned with more particularity and detail by the evangelist John. There is some difference, but no discrepancy. In John, the disciples are represented as looking one on another, doubting of whom he spake. In Matthew, those doubting disciples say, every one, “Lord, is it I?” In John, the answer is given to the beloved disciple who proposed the question. In Matthew it is given to the disciples. But Matthew determines the time to be while they were eating the passover. After the relation of these incidents, he describes the institution of the Supper in the succeeding verses. Had Judas remained during that affecting service, John would not have said, “He then having received the sop went *immediately* out.” The narration of Mark (xiv. 16—22) corresponds in every particular with that of Matthew:—“And they made ready the passover. And in the evening he cometh with the twelve. And as they sat and did eat, Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, One of you which eateth with me shall betray me. And they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, Is it I? and another said, Is it I? And he answered and said

unto them, It is one of the twelve, that dippeth with me in the dish. The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him : but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed ! good were it for that man if he had never been born." (At this time Judas goes out.) "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and said, 'Take, eat : this is my body.'"

So far all is consistent. Upon the supposition that Judas left before the institution of the Lord's Supper, there is in three Gospels not the least difficulty. To the English reader, indeed, there may be some perplexity, on account of an unfortunate mistranslation in John xiii. 2 : — "And supper being ended." It ought to be, "And supper being come ;" or, "While they were at supper (*δείπνου γενομένου*) the devil having now put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him." Had this occurred after supper, as our translators seem to have supposed, it would be difficult to reconcile it with the narratives we have considered. But as the occurrence took place while they were at supper, the whole is consistent and harmonious.

But what, in the Gospel of Luke, has induced some to think that Judas was present at the institution of the Lord's Supper ? The only difficulty arises from the order of the relation ; and, unless it can be shown that Luke has preserved the chronological order, from which Matthew and Mark have departed, it can decide nothing in the determination of this controversy. If we arrange the events recorded by Luke, in the order preserved by Matthew and Mark, there is no discrepancy. But, if we arrange the events recorded by Matthew and Mark, according to the order of Luke, we have an obvious and irreconcilable discrepancy with the Gospel of John. Why, then, should the order of Luke be preferred to that of the other three evangelists ? It is evident that, in this part of his narrative, Luke does depart from the chronological order.

He says (xxii. 19—23), “And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you. But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. And truly the Son of man goeth, as it was determined; but woe unto that man by whom he is betrayed! And they began to enquire among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.” According to this order, Judas was certainly present, and the inquiry who should betray the Saviour was subsequent to the Lord’s Supper. But the succeeding verses show that Luke has not observed the chronological order. He adds, “And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest. And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors.” No one supposes that this unseemly contention took place after the institution of the Lord’s Supper, in the short interval which elapsed before our Lord went to the Mount of Olives. It appears, therefore, that Luke has placed the account of the Lord’s Supper earlier in the narrative than the chronological order, had he followed it, would have directed. Having mentioned the sitting down at the passover, and the giving of the paschal cup to the disciples, he continues the relation of what Jesus did: “And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, ‘This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.’” (Ver. 19, 20.) And having finished that relation, he notices, as in a separate paragraph, several things Jesus had said during the supper, about the traitor, the strife of the disciples, the denial of Peter, and the procuring of a sword.



These conversations are mentioned after the account of the supper, although they took place at different intervals while they were eating. Nor is this an unnatural order. On this supposition, Luke becomes consistent with the other three evangelists. On any other, they are at variance with him, not in the matter of Judas only, but in several other incidents which he mentions. But, be that as it may, we may safely abide by our previous assertion that, even if Judas had been present with the apostles at the institution of the Lord's Supper, his presence *as an apostle* would in no way affect the question respecting the class of persons, who ought to be received to the communion of a Christian church.\*

In connexion with the inquiry respecting the persons who should be admitted to the Lord's Supper, it may be proper to consider the practice of private communion. In the Church of England, there is a service of the administration of the Lord's Supper in private; and its object is to afford consolation to sick persons and others, unable to attend at church. So, in the Church of Rome, and in the Eastern churches, the Eucharist is privately administered;

\* Greswell, in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, supposes that our Lord brake the bread, and gave it to his disciples, in memory of his death, at the time of the paschal supper when the unleavened bread was eaten; but that he distributed the sacramental cup after the supper was finished. He thinks that the evangelists connect the two, on account of their being united in the Christian observance, although many things occurred between the eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup. On this supposition, Luke anticipates the distribution of the cup, by appending it to the account of the breaking of the bread; but Matthew and Mark postpone the account of the bread, until the place of prefixing it to the distribution of the cup. If it were so, Judas was present at the breaking of the bread, but went out before the distribution of the cup. It, however, appears to me a very unreasonable and arbitrary division of what the evangelists represent as one service, to suppose that any other eating and drinking, or any long conversations intervened between eating the bread and drinking the wine of the Eucharist. The apostle Paul, also, speaks of the two parts of the Eucharist as intimately connected, in his account of that which he had received from the Lord Jesus.

and in some smaller denominations of our country, the Lord's Supper is observed by some two or three individuals who may casually meet together on the first day of the week. On the other hand, among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the private administration of the Lord's Supper is usually considered as an unauthorized and, therefore, objectionable service.

On this subject it may be observed, that all the accounts, which are given in the New Testament of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, are, without a single exception, perfectly consistent with the statement already made, that the Lord's Supper was observed by every church as a social ordinance, in which the members were expected to unite in one place at the appointed time. Describing the public ordinances, not the private services of the church in Jerusalem, the inspired historian says, "And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." The disciples "came together to break bread." This ordinance was a communion, or common participation by many. The eating of the same bread was an emblem of the unity of the church. When they came together to eat, they were to tarry one for another. As often as they ate of the bread and drank of the cup, they were to "*shew* the Lord's death till he come." The phrase "as often," intimates that the showing of the death of Christ is, not on special occasions only, but invariably, the object of the celebration. The practice of privately administering the Supper to individuals is inconsistent with all these representations. It divests the service of its true character, as a public testimony to the death of Christ. It is not a communion, not an emblem of the common participation of the church in the spiritual blessings imparted to all believers through the body and blood of Christ. Nor is it a social feast, an occasion of fraternal recognition, a passover of the Christian family. But, according to the representation of the apostle, these

things, the public testimony, the communion of believers, the social recognition, are the universal accompaniments, if not the essential principles, of the Lord's Supper. A private communion is a manifest contradiction. In private administrations, the only object is the consolation of individuals by a service intended for their sole benefit. But, although we gladly acknowledge that the benefit of individuals in the consolation they receive is a most important result, it is nowhere in Scripture proposed as the direct object of the commemoration. Of such a service, deficient in the most important characteristics of a communion, we are constrained to say, "This is not to eat the Lord's Supper."

In the course of time this practice became the occasion of much superstition. The worst corruptions of the Lord's Supper have arisen from the attempt to make it the means of producing some advantage to the recipient by the work of the administrator. So far am I from charging with this intention all who privately administer the Eucharist, that I most willingly honour the motives of many whose object is laudable, however unscriptural or injurious may be their administration. But if the mode of administering the ordinance be divested of its scriptural character as a communion of saints, and if its chief object, the showing of the death of Christ by a public testimony, be disregarded, there is great danger of substituting merely personal objects, as being more in accordance with the private and personal character of the administration. In such a service the great danger is of attributing to the administrator the power of conferring saving benefit upon the recipient. In the privacy of the occasion, the administrator appears, not as the pastor of a church bearing a public testimony, but as the minister of an individual bestowing a personal favour. The transaction is entirely between him and the communicant. The transition is easy; or, at all events, the history of the church shows too plainly that it

has not been found very difficult. The minister of an individual, coming between him and God, has learned to assume the character of a mediator, and to act as a priest, who does service for a man with God, and brings blessings from God to man; or an authorized agent in an administration upon which depend the spiritual life and salvation of the person immediately concerned. How these assumptions of sacerdotal authority have become more extravagant, as they have been allowed to pass unquestioned, you may easily learn by consulting the history of the gradual rise and steady progress of the manifold corruptions of the Romish Church.

The abuse of a practice is no good argument against the practice itself; but if any religious observance becomes exposed to abuse by being divested of its scriptural character, we maintain that the scriptural character ought to be most sacredly preserved, as its only proper and sufficient security. That the private administration of the Eucharist is exposed to abuses, to which a public commemoration of the death of Christ is not liable, is evident from the manner in which auricular confession has been connected with the private administration of the Lord's Supper, as out of it have grown the celebration of masses for the dead, and many other of the most superstitious rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

In Justin Martyr there is a reference to a custom in the early churches, harmless in itself, from which probably arose the private celebration of the Lord's Supper. In his time, the Eucharist was celebrated in the public assembly of baptized believers, in the usual place of meeting on the first day of the week. The concurrence of the whole church was publicly expressed by a solemn act of united worship. He says, towards the close of his first Apology, "When bread and a cup of water and wine have been brought to the president, he, taking them, offers with a loud voice praise and glory to the Father of all, through



the name of the Son and Holy Spirit, and offers thanksgiving at length for the gifts received from him. When these prayers and thanksgiving are finished, *all the people* express their assent by saying, Amen. Those among us who are called deacons distribute to every person present a portion of the consecrated bread and wine, and carry it to those who are absent." In a subsequent passage he adds, "Then distribution is made to each one present of the elements so consecrated, and they are sent to the absent by the deacons." It should be observed that, although Justin refers so distinctly and frequently to the public celebration of the Lord's Supper, he never makes the slightest allusion to any private observance of that sacred rite. We may safely conclude that such a practice was unknown to him. In these passages, the Lord's Supper is the communion of believers; there are the presiding officer, the assisting deacons, and the assenting people; in short, the assembled church, with its office-bearers, in its usual place and time of meeting. But I referred to a custom from which probably arose the private celebration of the Eucharist. A portion of the consecrated elements was carried by the deacons to the absent members. Let it be observed that the consecration of the elements, which means nothing more than the giving of thanks to God over the bread and wine, (a proper and scriptural service distinguished by an ill-chosen name,) was performed in public, with the assent of the people expressed by the general Amen. The sending of a portion to the absent (although not authorized by Scripture, and therefore very properly omitted in our practice) is very different from a private administration of the Sacrament. We do neither; but if it were shown to be a duty to provide for sick or distressed believers the comfort of commemorating the death of Christ, the usage of the churches in the time of Justin Martyr is very much preferable to the modern practice. By the older practice the absent,

through sickness or other unavoidable hinderance, were recognized by the expression of the fraternal regards of the united church. Absent in body, they were present in spirit, and with them, as one in Christ and in Christian love, a communion was solemnized. They partook of the same bread; they drank of the same cup; they were connected with the social service of the church. The emblem of their unbroken unity was well preserved. Divisions were healed, rather than inflamed, by such friendly and affectionate recognitions. Such a custom, so far from supporting the practice of private communion, is utterly inconsistent with it, as it is now commonly observed. Had the pastor been accustomed to go to the houses of the sick, and there perform the Eucharistic service, the elements would not have been sent for their comfort from the common table of the church.

This usage, however harmless in itself, was soon succeeded by superstitious and injurious practices. In the time of Tertullian and Cyprian, the consecrated bread was carried home by the communicants, and reserved against emergencies or extreme sickness.\* It was also tasted in the morning before any common food was eaten. A superstitious confidence in the virtue of consecrated bread is apparent in these practices, and this confidence soon induced persons to send for a priest, that he might consecrate for them the sacramental elements. In the course of time, the superstitions and abuses of private masses succeeded these early deviations from scriptural order, until in the Romish Church private communion was reduced to its narrowest possible limitation. In celebrating a private mass for the benefit of an absent person who may know nothing of the proceeding, although the

\* Tert. De Orat. c. 14: Ad Uxorem, lib. ii. c. 5. This practice was permitted until the ninth century, or even later, when the growing belief in transubstantiation induced the prohibition of committing the true body of Christ to private custody.

priest alone is engaged, it is decided that he by himself communicates sacramentally in the body and blood of Christ. The council of Trent pronounces its anathema upon all who assert that masses are unlawful, in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally. (Con. Trid. Sess. xiii. c. 8.) Without this power of communicating alone for the benefit of another as if he were present, a priest would not be able to offer the body and blood of Christ for the dead, and so the Romish Church would be deprived of its most profitable source of gain, the saying of masses for the souls of the departed. The gradual progress of superstitious corruptions, beginning with so apparently harmless an addition to the original service as the sending of part of the bread and wine, the tokens of fraternal remembrance, to the sick, may well be regarded as a warning to us of the danger of departing, however plausible the occasion, from the example sanctioned by inspired authority.

A question of some practical importance, on account of the different opinions which prevail among Christians respecting the rite of baptism, may require a brief notice, before we leave the consideration of the proper communicants at the Lord's Supper. Ought unbaptized persons, being qualified in all other respects, to be admitted to the communion of the Lord's table? The question is more important to our Baptist brethren than to us, as upon it chiefly depends the propriety of their practice of excluding from their communion, or admitting to it, as the instance may be, all such Christians as are in their estimation unbaptized. I say "*chiefly* depends;" because I have seen the question occasionally proposed by the supporters of what is called "open communion," as if a distinction should be made between those who are conscientiously satisfied with their own rite, because they believe it to be Christian baptism, and those who are altogether unbaptized. But, it appears to me, this question is only pro-

posed fairly and openly, when it is put in the form of affirming the propriety of admitting to the Lord's Supper unbaptized Christians, irrespectively of their own opinion about their own baptism. The fact of such Christians having been baptized in their infancy, can be admitted by those who repudiate infant baptism, only as a probable reason of their acting conscientiously in declining a rite, which appears to them like a second baptism. As the church, on receiving the person into its communion, regards him as unbaptized, it is only evading the question to make a distinction in his favour, on the ground of his conscientiously believing himself to be baptized, to the exclusion of another, who as conscientiously believes that water baptism is abrogated by the law of Christ.

There is another form of this question, which must sometimes, I should think, come before our Baptist brethren who maintain the practice of strict communion. If faith is an indispensable prerequisite to baptism, the baptism of an unbeliever is not a Christian ordinance, and ought not to be recognized in any proceedings of a Christian church. If such a baptized unbeliever has been excluded from communion; and if, however flagrant his delinquency, or however he make a full confession of his hypocrisy, and avow that he has been since brought to repentance, he be received a second time into the fellowship of a church, believers' baptism is not a term of communion in that church. Unbelievers' baptism is, in that one instance, sufficient for the purpose of church-fellowship.

But, as it is difficult for us to place ourselves exactly on the stand-point which our Baptist brethren occupy, it may be best to consider the question in the only form in which it can come before any of our churches. If an unbaptized Christian, believing that baptism is not obligatory upon him, were to become a candidate for the communion of



the Lord's Supper, ought he under such circumstances to be received?

To me, I confess, this question appears attended with no small perplexity. It may appear sufficiently plain from one point of view in which we observe it; but unfortunately, on changing our position, it appears about as plain in quite another direction. It is easy to say, on the one hand, that baptism is introductory to a Christian course, and therefore undoubtedly ought to precede the admission to the Lord's Supper. And it is quite as easy, on the other, to reply, that no true Christian ought to be excluded from the communion of Christ's church, on account of errors which confessedly will not exclude him from heaven. It appears to me much easier to defend both these assertions than to controvert either of them. Our perplexity arises from a state of things very unlike that of the primitive church, in which, as there was no difference about baptism, no Christians were unbaptized in the judgment of their brethren. It is for us to reconcile, as best we can, apparently opposite principles. Can a concession be made without involving a compromise of principle? A great change of circumstances has brought into collision principles which, in their original connexion, worked together with perfect harmony.

Let the position we are compelled to occupy, be carefully considered. Although it may not appear of much importance, so far as this subject is concerned, yet it will afford some important illustration in other perilous controversies of the present time. In a state of things for which Christ did not provide, because it is not Christian, two good principles are brought into collision: baptism ought invariably to precede the communion of the Lord's Supper; no true Christian ought to be excluded from that communion. In the question before us, they appear in direct opposition. Which must give way?

The solution of the difficulty, as it appears to me, must be sought in the inquiry, With whom is the responsibility of administering baptism? If the administration is the duty of the church, then it is the correlative duty to administer it in accordance with its own interpretation of the law of Christ. The scruples of individuals, however conscientious, are not to disturb the discipline of the church. The Christian society can make no concession of a principle entrusted to its care; but must insist upon administering baptism to all who, being unbaptized, apply for admission to its fellowship. As well might it forego any other part of its discipline, in deference to the scruples of a mistaken brother. The church is here called to interpret the law of Christ as the rule of its own practice.

On the other hand, if the administration of baptism be not committed to the church, that is, if it may be administered as the act of a teacher, without requiring the sanction of the church, we arrive at the opposite conclusion. The church is not required to pronounce any judgment upon the administration of baptism. Its authority is not consulted, its vote is not taken. As the teacher who baptizes acts upon his own responsibility, it is for him to administer baptism to an infant or an adult—an inquirer or a believer, as he honestly interprets the law of Christ. The matter is without the jurisdiction of the church, and therefore its discipline is not disturbed by the conscientious decision of the applicant for its fellowship, whether he has or has not been baptized. As I do not regard the administration of baptism to depend upon any act or vote of the church, I should receive the conscientiously unbaptized to its fellowship. Of course, I think that a Baptist minister, who administers baptism on his own responsibility, without any concurrent vote of the church, ought, on the same principle, to be an advocate for “open communion;” and that on the other hand, in a church in which baptism is administered on a vote of the church,

and consequently the baptizer acts as its minister in executing the law of Christ, the admission of an unbaptized person, would be manifestly inconsistent with its discipline. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the practice of Baptist churches and ministers to speak decidedly ; but so far as my observation extends, I have reason to conclude that such Baptist ministers as baptize in concurrence with the vote of the church, are generally strict communionists, and such as baptize on their own responsibility are as generally in favour of open communion.

Upon the review of this and the preceding Lecture, let us trace the progress of making disciples, so far as human agency is concerned. Our great commission is unlimited, —“ Go, disciple all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.” We designate those who are willing to come under our instruction, by baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They are thus registered as learners. When they have been taught the great principles of the Christian faith, and have given evidence of its power upon their hearts by their approved constancy in adhering to it ; they are to be regarded as those who, by continuing in the truth, have become disciples indeed. Of the value of the evidence which they give, or of their qualification for church communion, the church whose communion they seek, is the only authorized judge. On the judgment of the church, deliberately given, the parties are received into its fellowship, and endowed with all its rights and privileges. They are the τέλειοι, initiated or perfect, and πνευματικοί, spiritual persons, who are considered in the judgment of a Christian church to be initiated into its discipline ; to be perfect, not indeed in Christian character, but in the church relation, having perfect and full possession of all the privileges of Christ’s kingdom on earth ; and to be spiritual, capable of spiritu-

ally discerning the Lord's body. They are still to be kept under the discipline of the church, which has power to exclude them from its communion, if in its judgment they act unworthily of the high vocation with which they were called. Such, in our judgment, is the relation of disciples to the two ordinances of Christ—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.



## LECTURE X.

### THE INSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me."—  
*1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.*

IN these words, the apostle teaches that our blessed Lord, when he instituted the supper which commemorates his death, proposed an example for his disciples to imitate, whenever they observe the commemoration. How otherwise can we understand the apostle? Among the various abuses which had grown up in the Corinthian church were some sad perversions of the Lord's Supper. To correct them, what course did the apostle select? He brought distinctly before them the original service, as our Lord had observed it, on "the same night in which he was betrayed." He recited in detail the several actions of our Lord. By so doing, he evidently prescribed that original form as the model for the Corinthians. This is as plain as if he had said, To correct your abuses you have only to adhere to that form which "I also delivered unto you." You have only to observe the pattern which the Lord has given in his own institution. If a Christian man were now to profess to correct any abuses of the Lord's Supper, as it is observed by a religious society, and were to say, The

Lord Jesus “on that same night” did this or did that, and did it in this or that manner, would he not be understood by the common sense of every man to mean :—You should abide by the original form, and closely imitate the several actions of the Divine Founder? Let common sense interpret the apostle’s words, and the conclusion will be that the original form of the Lord’s Supper was appointed to be the model, which Christians in all ages ought scrupulously to observe. Not only have the evangelists given us that form, but the apostle Paul “received” it by especial revelation from the Lord Jesus, and “delivered” it to the Gentile churches, that they might know how they ought to “show the Lord’s death.” Believing that every Christian church is under solemn obligation to preserve this model, I cannot refrain from expressing my sorrow, that so many Protestants have departed so widely from the original service “delivered” to the churches.

It is, therefore, important to have before us the several accounts of the institution, as they are given in the New Testament.

In Matthew (xxvi. 26—29) the words are :—“And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.” In Mark (xiv. 22—25) it is thus related :—“And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, ‘This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine,

until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God." In Luke (xxii. 19, 20) the words are:—"And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." To the account of the evangelists, we may append the statement of the apostle Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23—26). "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks he brake, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

With these statements of the inspired writers we may compare the account of the Lord's Supper, which is preserved by Justin Martyr, as being not only the earliest, but the most detailed account we have in ancient ecclesiastical writers, and as showing the manner in which the institution was observed immediately after the apostolic age. Justin, in his first Apology, written probably as early as the year 138,\* and certainly not later than 150, says, "For the apostles in the memorials made by them, which are called Gospels, have handed down that it was thus commanded to them:—That Jesus having taken bread, and having given thanks, said, Do this in remembrance of me, this is my body; and likewise having taken the cup, and given thanks, he said, This is my blood; and he gave it to them alone." In the same Apology he gives an account of the observance of the Supper. "After the prayers are concluded, we salute each other with a kiss;

\* See Appendix A.

after this, bread and a cup of wine and water are brought to the president, who, having taken them, offers, with a loud voice, praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and offers up thanksgiving for the gifts received from him. When this prayer and thanksgiving are ended, all the people express their concurrence by saying, Amen. Those called deacons distribute this Eucharistical bread and wine, and then they carry it to the absent. Of this food none are allowed to partake but true believers, for we do not receive this Eucharistical bread and wine as common bread or common wine." . . . "On the day called Sunday, all that live in the same city or country assemble in one place, where the writings of the apostles and prophets are read, and the president makes a discourse, at the conclusion of which we pray, and then bread and wine and water are brought, and the president offers up with the greatest distinctness prayer and thanksgiving, and the people exclaim, Amen. Then distribution is made to each one present of the elements thus consecrated, and they are sent to the absent by the deacons. The wealthy contribute according to their willingness, and the amount collected is placed in the hands of the president, and from this he relieves the widows and orphans, and those suffering from illness and other causes, besides those who are in bonds, and strangers, and indeed all who are in need of assistance."

That by the memorials (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) of the apostles Justin intended to designate the canonical Gospels admits of satisfactory evidence. The reasons which have induced some eminent critics to doubt or deny this opinion, seem to me very inconsiderable, as opposed to the preponderance of evidence in its favour. The consideration of this evidence would lead us too far from our subject; but as it is very important to compare the citations of Justin with our present copies of the Gospels, I reserve a brief notice



of it for an Appendix.\* These statements show how the Lord's Supper was observed by Christian churches within little more than a century, or rather, as he had for some time known the usages of the churches, within considerably less than a century from its institution. We may therefore make good use of them to illustrate the evangelical records, by showing, although some slight departures had been made from the original practice, how very few and inconsiderable they were, compared with the deviations of later times. The administration of the Lord's Supper described by Justin might not in every particular correspond with the apostolic practice; yet we cannot fail to observe how utterly unlike, in every respect, it was to the solemnization of the sacrifice of the mass. It bears a much nearer resemblance to the simple form of administration observed in Congregational churches than to the communion service of any other denomination of modern times. The details of Justin are the more important, because he had travelled over Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Italy, and had become well acquainted with the customs of the churches in several countries.

But let us first consider the four accounts which are recorded in the New Testament. That in Matthew commences with the words, "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread;" that in Mark exactly corresponds, "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread." Paul, however, in speaking of the cup, says, "After they had supped." There can be little doubt that the Lord's Supper was distinguished from the previous meal, and did not form a part of its regular course. It was, however, so immediately in continuance of that meal, that it may be said to have taken place as they were eating. Still the apostle was careful to represent the service as separated from the previous repast, however they may have been connected in the opinions

\* See Appendix B.

and practice of the Corinthians : " When ye come together into one place, it is not to eat the Lord's Supper. For every one of you in eating taketh before his own supper : and one is hungry, and another hath drunk too much." (1 Cor. xi. 20, 21.)

The apostle then adduces the account of the institution, which he had received from the Lord Jesus, with the design, as is very evident, of separating the observance of the Lord's Supper from all previous eating. That supper was limited to one loaf of bread, once distributed, and one cup of wine, once handed round.

The inquiry suggested on reading these accounts is, What had they been eating? What was that previous meal, in which Christ and his disciples were associated, " in the same night in which he was betrayed"? That it was the paschal supper which our Lord had eaten with his disciples, and which was eaten by the Jews on " that same night," that is, on the Thursday evening ; or, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning from sunset, in the evening which began the day in which Jesus was crucified, the fifteenth day of the first month, I have, notwithstanding some objections, a very decided conviction. As this is a question of much importance in illustrating the connexion between the Lord's Supper and the paschal feast, and on it several important inferences depend, I must be excused if I appear to pursue, at too great length, an inquiry which may not, at present, seem very closely connected with the subject. It is, however, so intimately connected, that I despair of supporting some views of the Lord's Supper of no inconsiderable importance, unless its connexion with the last passover be firmly established. Great names may be adduced on both sides ; but as Dr. Neander, in his " Life of Christ," has not only given the sanction of his high authority to the opinion that Christ was crucified on the day before the passover, but represented the contrary opinion to be so expressly contradictory to John's

Gospel as to be undeserving of much attention; and as Greswell, in his "Harmony of the Gospels," supports the same opinion with great ingenuity and learning, I am desirous of adducing the evidence in favour of what has been, at least previously to their attacks, the prevalent opinion on this subject. The evidence lies within the compass of the four Gospels; and perhaps the consideration of their differences in the detail of events, where the evidence on each side is accessible to the attentive English reader, may clearly illustrate the accuracy of the several evangelists in their apparent discrepancies, as well as in their harmonious narrative. The candid examiner of the Gospels will probably confess, that no apparent discrepancy in their narrative is more perplexing than that which relates to the day of celebrating the passover. Was Jesus crucified on the preparation of the passover, or on the great paschal day—on the fourteenth, or fifteenth of the month Nisan? It will be readily acknowledged that, if we had only the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the subject would not be embarrassed with the least difficulty. On the other hand, it is but candid to admit that, if we had only the Gospel of John, we should with as little hesitation arrive at the opposite conclusion. His narrative seems throughout to be consistent with the supposition, that the day on which Christ suffered was the paschal preparation; and therefore the chief priests on that morning had not eaten the passover.

This statement of the facts has suggested the notice of an hypothesis, maintained by some German critics, that there are two irreconcilably inconsistent biographies of Christ—that of the first three evangelists, called, from their general agreement, the synoptists; and that of John, which is represented as demonstrably irreconcilable with the three other accounts, or rather the one other in three forms.

Although I am not called to refute this hypothesis, it

falls in my way to observe, that this instance of apparent discrepancy respecting the passover, is one of the most urgent reasons, or rather the most urgent of all the reasons, which are usually adduced in its support. Whatever may be our views of the inspiration of the evangelists, our confidence in the credibility of Matthew and John must be sadly shaken, if they could have been mistaken in so important a fact as whether, on the evening before Jesus suffered, they did, or did not, eat with him the regular paschal supper. If, of the two evangelists who were present, Matthew asserted that Jesus kept the passover with his disciples on the evening preceding the crucifixion, and John supposed that the passover was not eaten by the Jews until the evening subsequent to it,—if they so directly opposed each other on an important fact, which must have been the subject of their personal recollections, then we should be compelled to withhold our confidence from both until we knew which of them had given us the correct account. This supposition also implies a diversity of opinion between them as to the day of the crucifixion; for with this view of the narrative, according to Matthew, Jesus was crucified on the fifteenth of the month—the paschal day; but according to John, on the fourteenth—the day before the passover. But we have far too much evidence of the competency and veracity of the evangelists, to admit the possibility of so important and positive a contradiction. In seeking a solution of this difficulty, let me say we ought not to be much alarmed, should we not be able to find one to our satisfaction. Many persons, unaccustomed to the examination of various accounts of the same events, are not aware of the perplexing discrepancies which frequently occur in the several relations of men, who were personally concerned in what they relate, and of whose veracity and accuracy there can be no reasonable doubt. The general descriptions of a battle, or a siege, or a revolution, very well correspond; when in the



details the several writers, although present at the time, often appear to differ considerably. The apparent discrepancies usually arise from our ignorance of some unimportant incidents which are left unnoticed in the narrative, or misunderstanding of some minute circumstances which are indistinctly related. Any who wish to satisfy themselves respecting such discrepancies, have only to compare several relations of the last revolution in Paris, as they were given by the correspondents of the most respectable daily papers of the time. Or they may consult the narratives of Lamartine, Rollin, and others, written at leisure, from recent recollections, and with the best opportunities of careful investigation. The reader of their narratives, or of any other contemporaneous accounts of complicated events, will be able to detect discrepancies, quite as perplexing as any which can be found between the narratives of the three evangelists on the one hand, and the Gospel of John on the other.

Such contemporaneous histories suggest another observation, which will be found of some importance in the study of the four Gospels. If, in order to harmonize the apparent discrepancies in contemporaneous narrative, we begin to conjecture what might have happened, we shall soon discover harmonizing theories most abundantly offering themselves. This occurrence, or the other, could we be sure it had taken place, would make all things clear. So critics have proceeded in arranging the harmony of the Gospels; and sometimes several suggestions have been offered, any one of which, if adopted, would accomplish the purpose. So far, however, as I have observed in modern narratives, whenever the harmonizing fact has been discovered, the most fortunate conjectures have proved very wide of the truth. Indeed, by such considerations, my mind has been brought to the conclusion that, on comparing contemporaneous histories (unless they are very brief and general), a certain amount of apparent discre-

pancy ought always to be expected; and further, that the particulars which, if ascertained, would correctly harmonize the narratives, are not often discovered by sagacious conjecture. The apparent discrepancies between John and the other evangelists do not disturb me; nor am I disposed to place much reliance upon the suggestions which have been offered to reconcile them.

But an objection, of an opposite kind, has been suggested by the comparison of contemporaneous narratives. Do not Matthew, Mark, and Luke correspond more closely than may be fairly expected in histories perfectly independent? Is not the narrative of the synoptists too synoptical? Do they not look upon too many things in the same light, and from the same point of view? To this I reply, So I have sometimes thought; but further consideration has satisfied me, that we have in their concurrence additional evidence of the credibility of these Gospels. The three narratives do seem to run too harmoniously; but so in many parts do their descriptions, their language, and their arrangement, which show some common sources from which they have, to a considerable extent, been derived. Explain it as we may, the fact of verbal resemblance remains. Be it that they copied, according to various hypotheses, one from another; or be it that they had access to common documents; or be it, as I think not improbable, that there had previously existed an oral Gospel, which had grown into use among the first converts, from which the evangelists derived a considerable part of their several statements; or be it explicable, as some would probably explain it, on the principle of verbal inspiration; or be it entirely inexplicable;—there is a greater resemblance in their language, order, and relation, than would be found in three perfectly independent writers. When, therefore, we find less of apparent discrepancy in the incidents and circumstances than we should have expected, this fact is in exact accordance with the other peculiarities of the three

earlier Gospels. Where so much of language is common amidst much that differs, we should not look for the apparent discrepancies of writers, who are in every sense absolutely independent and unknown to each other. The common sources, whatever they were, explain the unusual degree of correspondence. To find it in the language, but not in the incidents, would be far more perplexing. As it is, the three evangelists, whose writings betray in many parts concurrent sources, are synoptical in their circumstances much in the same proportion as they are coincident in their language. But unlike John in their language, order, and relation, they have with him far more of apparent discrepancy in their facts than they have with one another. And just so it ought to be, if a natural consistency exists between them all.

I make these suggestions, that you may understand how the accuracy of the evangelists is not at all affected, if, in the process of this inquiry, we should be unable to resolve all perplexing discrepancies on the subject of the last passover.

But the inquiry is, Why should we deduce from Matthew, Mark, and Luke, that Jesus ate the passover on the same evening as did the Jews, rather than infer from John, that the passover was eaten by the Jews on the evening after the crucifixion? It may be said, when three evangelists coincide, greater weight is due to their united testimony; but in such particulars as these, the synoptists are not to be regarded as three perfectly independent writers in apparent opposition to John. They look upon an object from the same point of view, while John observes it in a very different light. Besides, of inspired writers, the direct testimony of one is equivalent to that of three, or of any number.

We believe that, on the evening before Jesus suffered, he ate, at the legal time, the passover with his disciples. because Matthew, Mark, and Luke expressly assert it.

They bear *direct* testimony. They say distinctly when it was, and what was done. But the apparent contradictions of John do not occur in the form of direct testimony. In his narrative, the incidental mention of various occurrences seems opposed (and to some men irreconcilably opposed) to the belief that Jesus was crucified on the great feast-day; but it is in such incidental allusions that discrepancies of this kind usually occur, especially in reference to particulars of which the writer was not thinking at the time. Three evangelists professedly designate the time: John's mention of it is rather allusive, in illustrating the passing events. The three evangelists are also very exact in defining the several days preceding the crucifixion. They tell us what was done two days before the passover, and then bring us to the first day of unleavened bread. The passover is their date. Matthew says, "Now on the first day of unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?" So Mark, "And on the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the passover" (*ἐθούον*, imperfect tense, were accustomed to kill it), "his disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare the passover?" And also Luke, "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed.\* And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat." In the large upperroom, already furnished as in expectation of being hired for the feast, the disciples "made ready the passover," as Matthew, Mark, and Luke expressly assert. The evangelists thus proceed: Matthew says, "Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve." Mark, "And in the evening he cometh with the twelve." Luke, "And when the hour was come, he sat down and the twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer;

\* "Ἐδοι ὁΐεσθαι τὸ πᾶσχα, it was proper that the passover should be killed.



for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God."

What can be more distinctly specified than the dates of this narrative? We have two days before the feast, and the appropriate events related. That would be on the Wednesday. We have then the first day of unleavened bread—the Thursday—the fourteenth day of Nisan, when the paschal lambs were slain, at the time designated by the expression "between the evenings," and as that phrase was understood by the Jews in the time of our Lord, between three and five of the afternoon. After sunset on Thursday commenced the paschal day—the fifteenth—and on that evening, "when the hour was come," the passover was to be eaten. Accordingly our Lord and his disciples sat down, and at the table Jesus said, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." This synoptic narrative admits of but one explanation: Jesus ate the passover with his disciples on the evening preceding and belonging to the fifteenth day of the month, the legal day. On that same evening he instituted the Lord's Supper; and on that same fifteenth day, that is, before the next evening, he was crucified: "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us."

Bound to notice the objections adduced from the Gospel of St. John, I am not obliged to answer them. They may be inexplicable by us; and yet, with more complete knowledge of doubtful phrases and obscure events, we might find them easily explained. Objections which induced such men as Scaliger, Casaubon, Cappellus, Lampe, Ikenius, Neander, Greswell, and many others, to maintain that Jesus did not eat the regular passover with his disciples, are not to be dismissed as if they were of small importance, or could be easily resolved to our complete satisfaction.

In John xiii. 1, 2, we read, "Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that

he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end. And while they were at supper, the devil having now put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot to betray him." It is inferred from these words, that before the feast of the passover, Judas was at the supper from which he went to betray Jesus. But this admits of several replies. Lightfoot thinks that this supper was not the same as that which the earlier evangelists mention, as having been observed in the upper room in Jerusalem; but that it was at Bethany two days before the feast. Some contend that the words of John, "before the feast of the passover," may denote before the seven days of the festival, computed from the next morning. Although Dr. Robinson, in his *Harmony*, supports this opinion, it appears insuperably difficult to imagine, that the time of eating the paschal lamb should not be included in the festival of the passover. To me the most satisfactory mode of obviating this difficulty is to study John's phraseology a little more carefully. The phrases "before the feast," and "supper being come,"\* appear to be antithetical. "Before the feast of the passover," "Jesus knew that his time was come;" and at the feast, while they were at supper, Judas was prompted to betray him. The foreknowledge of Jesus, and the treachery of Judas, are thus mentioned together. On this natural interpretation, the words of John are consistent with the narrative of the preceding evangelists.

A more unmanageable objection occurs in John xviii. 28:—"And they themselves" (the Jews) "went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover." This certainly seems to imply, that the Jews, when they carried Jesus to Pilate, had not eaten the passover, but intended to eat it on the evening of that day. If so, Jesus was crucified on the day

\* Mistranslated, "Supper being ended."

preceding the passover—the fourteenth, not the fifteenth of the month, as the other evangelists have taught us. The reply usually given to this objection is, that the phrase, “to eat the passover,” may have denoted to observe the festival, of which the eating of the lamb, being the principal part, might have given the name to the observance of the whole festival of seven days. If it were so, although the Jews had previously eaten the paschal lamb, the evangelist might have said, in reference to the remaining parts of the festival, and especially the eating of other sacrifices, “that they might eat the passover.” That the phrase, “to eat the passover,” may have denoted to keep the paschal feast of seven days, *including* the eating of the paschal lamb, is not very improbable. But it is difficult to believe that such a phrase should be used, in reference to a part of the festival which did not include the eating of the paschal lamb. In this exclusive sense the phrase must have been used, if it referred only to the remainder of the festival, which was subsequent to the eating of the paschal supper. Rather than offer this objectionable solution, I would confess that the difficulty is not explicable, without more knowledge of the circumstances or the phraseology than we have hitherto acquired. We cannot allow an inexplicable difficulty to invalidate the testimony of three evangelists.

In John xix. 14, we read, “And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour.” But what was “the preparation of the passover”? The most obvious interpretation undoubtedly is the day preceding the passover, when the Jews made ready, by putting away all leaven from their houses, and by killing the paschal lamb. On this probable signification those expositors rely, who maintain that Jesus was crucified the day before the passover. On the contrary, if Jesus was crucified on the fifteenth of the month, the phrase must be understood as meaning the preparation day before the Sabbath in the

paschal week. To confirm this interpretation, we may adduce the words of Mark (xv. 42), "because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath." As every Friday was usually called the preparation, denoting the preparation for the Sabbath, the Friday in the paschal week, on whatever day the passover was eaten, might very naturally be called the preparation of the passover. This interpretation appears to derive confirmation from John himself, who called the day of the crucifixion the preparation, when he was speaking in reference to the Sabbath: "The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the cross on the Sabbath-day." It is true John adds, "for that Sabbath-day was a high day;" from which words it has been inferred, that the Sabbath and the passover concurred on that same day. But the Sabbath of the paschal week, with its peculiar ceremonial, might well be called a high day.

Some have suggested a middle course to reconcile John with the other evangelists, by supposing that the Jews themselves differed respecting the day of keeping the passover. Various theories have been proposed; of which the most common is, that the Sadducees kept the passover a day earlier than the Pharisees, and that our Lord in this instance conformed to the usage of the Sadducees. It is plain enough, that if the three evangelists refer to the Sadducees' passover, and John to the Pharisees', there is an end of the discrepancy. But we have no faith in this solution. The difference of the usage ought to be proved, before it be received as the basis of such a reconciliation. The difference between the Karaites and the Pharisees was in the interpretation of the obscure phrase "between the evenings," when the passover was to be killed, not respecting the time of eating it. Nothing could have been more clear and express than the command of Moses, that the paschal supper was to be eaten before midnight, on the evening which introduced the fifteenth day of the first month.



On circumstantial evidence, in matters of ancient history, little dependence can be placed. Ingenious men can easily collect from the details of a narrative, circumstances apparently favourable to whatever solution of a disputed question they may choose to defend. This very dispute shows how the same incidents may be adduced on both sides. It was not the great feast-day, say some; or the Jewish Sanhedrim would not have profaned it by passing sentence of death. It was the feast-day, say others, and therefore the Jewish Sanhedrim was not regularly convened to pass a judicial sentence, but after an irregular examination they conducted Jesus to the prætorium of Pilate. They could have had the lamb slain only on the proper day, says Lightfoot, and supports his assertion by Rabbinical authorities; they could on another day, says Greswell, and offers for his proof citations from Philo.

Although this inquiry may appear too much like a digression from our subject, I have pursued it at some length, because the opinion which I have to defend respecting the Lord's Supper, depends very much upon its intimate connexion with the passover, and because the symbolical actions of our Lord at the institution receive no inconsiderable illustration from the previous celebration of the passover with his disciples. In concluding from the direct testimony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, notwithstanding the perplexing difficulties of John's Gospel, that our Lord ate the legal passover, on the evening prescribed by the law of Moses, I must call attention to the fact, that so intimate was the connexion of the Lord's Supper with that previous passover, as to induce two of the evangelists to say, "*While they were eating*, Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it."

What was the passover which immediately preceded the institution of the Lord's Supper? The paschal lamb then eaten, although it had been slain at the altar, was not a propitiatory sacrifice, or an atonement for sin. Although

the paschal lamb is said to be sacrificed, as all animals slain before the Lord were, in a general sense, called sacrifices, yet the great sacrificial idea,—the deprecating and averting of condign punishment,—did not belong to the paschal offering. By it no punishment was averted; no propitiation for sin was accomplished. The continual burnt-offerings were slain on the paschal feast, for the paschal lamb was no substitute for the sacrifices which were offered in remembrance of sin. It was, therefore, essentially different from the burnt-offering, or the sin-offering, or even the trespass-offering of the Mosaic law.

But no offerings could have been more evidently sacrificial in their character and design, than the lambs of the first passover in Egypt. The blood, sprinkled on the door-posts, had a solemn significance and propitiating power, which never belonged to any subsequent passover. "Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them, Draw out and take you a lamb according to your families, and kill the passover. And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel, and the two side-posts, with the blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning. For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side-posts, the Lord will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you." (Ex. xii. 21—23.)

All that constitutes the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice was included in that original passover. The first-born child of the Israelite, exposed to the same death as that of the Egyptian, escaped by the substitution of a lamb, whose blood, the sign of death, was exhibited in deprecation of the threatened judgment.

But the annual passover included no such sacrificial ideas of guilt, of condemnation, and of death. Although

not a propitiatory sacrifice, yet it was the commemoration of the greatest and most important propitiatory sacrifice in the national history of Israel, by which the destroying angel, satisfied with the substitution, was turned away from the houses protected by the appointed sign of death. Nor was the annual commemoration really a passover, any more than a sacrifice. No angel of death passed over the houses, as no first-born was saved by the substitution of the lamb. Yet the annual ceremony was called both a sacrifice and a passover, and also "the sacrifice of the Lord's passover;" that is, it was called by the name of the thing which it was appointed to commemorate.

In the same manner, the Lord's Supper is not in any sense a propitiatory sacrifice, although it is the commemoration of that great propitiatory sacrifice which Jesus, the High Priest of our profession, offered for the sins of the whole world. When Jesus, as he was concluding the celebration of one commemorative rite, instituted another, his disciples would naturally suppose that the commemoration of his death would bear the same relation to his death itself, as the annual commemoration of the passover bore to the death of the paschal lambs, slain on the night their fathers escaped from Egypt. Neither the one commemorative rite nor the other was a repetition of the original sacrifice. The annual celebration added nothing to the first passover, nor does the Lord's Supper add anything to the efficiency of the great atoning sacrifice which Christ Jesus offered for us on Calvary.

Nothing can be more derogatory from the dignity and worth of the atoning sacrifice of our blessed Lord, than to suppose that it needs a continual repetition by the hands of sinful men, acting on behalf of their fellow-sinners. Let us study the reasoning, by which an inspired writer demonstrates the insufficiency of the Levitical sacrifices to expiate the sins of men:—"For the law can never, by those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually,

make the comers thereunto perfect." But where is the proof that those legal sacrifices did not make the comers thereunto perfect? "For then would they not have ceased to be offered? Because that the worshippers, once purged, should have had no more conscience of sins. But in those sacrifices there is a remembrance again made of sins every year." The conclusion is, "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins." The one perfect sacrifice of Christ is then represented by the writer in contrast with those often-repeated sacrifices. "And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down at the right hand of God." "For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." "Now where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin." Can any doctrine be more directly opposed to the letter, as well as the spirit, of these Scriptures, than that of the Romanists, who profess to offer in the Eucharist a repetition of our Lord's sacrifice for sin? In their administration of the mass, the character of a supper, and even of a commemoration, is entirely abrogated. The priest is authorized to offer a true propitiatory sacrifice for sin. Instead of a table he has an altar, and instead of bread and wine, he professes to obtain by transubstantiation the real body and blood of Christ. The character of the service is entirely and avowedly sacrificial. The bread, called the host, or victim, is elevated before the people, and presented to God for them. The eating of the bread is only a secondary thing, like the eating of the flesh of the victim after an atonement has been made; and the cup is withheld from the laity, as if to show that drinking the wine is not an essential part of the service.

Many clergymen of the English Church represent the Lord's Supper as an offering for sin, and call it the sacrifice



of the altar. But what can be more irreconcilably opposed to the Thirty-first Article of their own church, to which, under their own signatures, they have solemnly appended their unfeigned assent and consent, than the essays of these Tractarian clergymen on the sacrament of the Eucharist? The Article says :—"The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." How many, who eat the bread of the church, employ language, which can only be explained in accordance with what this article declares to be blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits!

But we have not to expose the inconsistencies of Anglo-Catholics with the articles of their own church, so much as to show the irreconcilable opposition of their doctrine to the testimony of Holy Scripture.

Let us submit this notice of a sacrifice for sin, offered in the Eucharist, to the test of the apostle's reasoning, which we have already cited. If we substitute the continually repeated sacrifice of Christ for the continually repeated sacrifice of the law, the apostle's argument may be thus stated :—"For the sacrifice of Christ could never, with those sacrifices of the Eucharist which they offer continually, have made the comers thereunto perfect. For then would it not have ceased to be offered; because that the worshippers, once purged, should have had no more conscience of sins? But in those sacrifices there is a remembrance again made of sins." The reasoning by which the apostle shows that the Jewish sacrifices could not take away sin, would equally prove, that the sacrifice of Christ was insufficient to atone for guilt, if it had to be repeated

by a continual oblation in remembrance of sin. The repetition of the sacrifice of Christ is the subversion of the Gospel; for, if any priest must now offer for sin, Christ has died in vain, and his blood has not cleansed from all sin.

The passover was a family feast, observed "according to the house of their fathers." If the family was too small to eat a lamb, the "neighbour next unto the house" was associated with it. Jesus kept this last passover, not with the members of his own family who were then at Jerusalem, but with his disciples, whom he thus acknowledged as more intimately united with him than "his mother, and sister, and brother." Upon the Lord's Supper, instituted on such an occasion, is indelibly impressed the sign of Christian fraternity and love. "For we, being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." A secondary, but very important object of the Lord's Supper is, to unite in fraternal love the several members of a Christian Church. It is a holy communion—a common participation of the benefits procured by the death of Christ. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread, which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" The allusion of the apostle to the festival of the passover, suggests the idea of one family partaking of Christ, their paschal lamb:—"Christ our passover is sacrificed for us; wherefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." Of that feast, celebrated by the universal church, the Lord's Supper, celebrated by a Christian society, is an appropriate and impressive emblem.

"As they did eat, *Jesus took bread.*" Of course the bread was unleavened; other bread could not legally have been eaten, nor readily obtained at that feast. Hence, it has been suggested by some, who insist upon adhering in-

flexibly to every particular of scriptural precedent, that unleavened bread ought always to be used at the Lord's Supper. Such an opinion is the result of overlooking the spirit of an action, in directing attention too closely and exclusively to the letter of the text. It is undoubtedly true, that our Lord took unleavened bread; but, as none of the Evangelists say that it was unleavened, we may suppose that its consistency was of no importance.

Our Lord took the bread which was convenient, most likely a paschal cake; \* but it is too much to assert, that he would not as readily have taken common bread, had it been present. One of the points of difference between the Latin and Greek Church refers to the use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament. The Latins use small unfermented wafers; the Greeks, leavened bread. At the Reformation, the Lutherans continued the use of unleavened cakes; the Reformed Churches partook of common bread.

"Jesus took bread," as a significant emblem of his flesh, which, on another occasion, he called "meat indeed," and "the living bread which came down from heaven." "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

"*He blessed it.*" According to Mark, "having blessed" (εὐλογήσας); according to Luke, "having given thanks" (εὐχαριστήσας). In Matthew, the word is doubtful, as both readings occur in manuscripts of great antiquity. Paul, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, agrees with Luke. The blessing of the bread has been deemed an act of awful and mysterious importance, by those who attribute a sacrificial character to the Eucharist. Although the Romanists hold that the transubstantiation is effected when the priest says, *Hoc est corpus meum*; they, in common with all who believe

\* ἄρτος is often used for a cake or loaf: "How many loaves (ἄρτους) have ye?" Matt. xv. 34, 36. The seven loaves (ἄρτους). Matt. xvi. 10. In Mark ii. 26, it denotes the cakes of shew bread.

in the saving virtue of the sacrament, ascribe peculiar power to the consecration of the elements by the benediction of the priest. But if the blessing of the bread implies the impartation of these awfully mysterious properties, is it not strange, that at least two, if not three, of the four inspired writers who describe the service, represent the mysterious act of benediction, as if it were only the giving of thanks? If it be said, the giving of thanks was either appended to the blessing of the bread, or included in it, we reply, How should the less, the thanksgiving, be mentioned, rather than the greater and more important act of benediction or consecration?

But what are we to understand by the words of Mark, “*having blessed*, he brake it”? Let it be observed, that the Evangelist does not say, having blessed *the bread*, but only “*having blessed*.” This verb is usually followed by persons, not things, as its object. To bless a person is easily understood. The verb selected by Mark is so employed in a variety of senses. To bless a person (εὐλογεῖν) denotes, sometimes, to wish well to him, as “bless them that curse you;” sometimes, to give a blessing, as when God blesses a man; sometimes, to ascribe happiness or glory, as when we bless the Lord; but in none of these senses can we bless a loaf of bread.

We therefore contend, that the object of this blessing was a person; and that the most natural construction of the passage is, “having blessed God, he brake it.” The blessing mentioned in Mark is, therefore, identical with the thanksgiving of Luke and Paul.

But if there were any doubt as to the identical signification of the two words in the New Testament, a reference to the act of our Lord, when he fed the multitude in the desert, would be quite sufficient to dispel such a doubt. In Mark viii. 6, it is said, “Having taken the seven loaves, and given thanks (εὐχαριστήσας), he brake. But in the seventh verse it is said, respecting the fishes, “having



blessed" (*εὐλογήσας*). Does any one suppose, that the blessing over the fishes was not the same thing as the giving of thanks over the loaves? If it were needful, abundant evidence might be adduced from the language employed by the Jews at the passover. Rabbinical writers speak of blessing the meat, and blessing the cup, and the blessing is invariably a thanksgiving to God. "Blessed be thou, O Lord God, who hath commanded us concerning the eating of the unleavened bread." And so they blessed God over the wine.\*

In the detailed account of Justin Martyr, given upon the authority of "the Apostles, in the Memorials composed by them, which are called Gospels," we find no other consecration of the elements, than the offering of praise and thanksgiving to God. According to him, "the apostles handed down in their Gospels, that Jesus, having taken bread, and given thanks, said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.'" And again, "the president offers praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of his Son and the Holy Spirit, and offers thanksgiving for the gifts received from him." It is not credible, that if any more solemn act of consecration were practised in his time, Justin would have neglected to mention it in so explicit and detailed an account. Nor is this interpretation without later ecclesiastical authority. Chrysostom interprets the phrase (1 Cor. x. 16), "The cup of blessing," that which we receive with thanksgiving. Ambrose says, "The apostle calls it the cup of blessing; because, when we have it in our hands, we praise him with admiration of the inestimable gift, blessing him that he shed his blood for us."† That the Lord's Supper was in an early age called *εὐλογία*, as well as *εὐχαριστία*, the "blessing" as well as the "thanksgiving," confirms the opinion, that the two words were originally understood in the same—that is, in the Jewish sense.

\* Lightfoot. Temple Service, ch. xiii.

† In Ep. i. ad Corin. Hom. 27.

Jesus "*brake the bread.*" In maintaining, that "the breaking of bread" is an important part of the symbolic service, I may be asked why more importance should be attributed to the example of our Lord, in his breaking of the bread, than in his use of the unleavened cake. The distinction which is made in these two acts of our Lord, may illustrate the authority of scriptural precedent, and define the limits of the space intervening between an unreasoning scrupulosity, in adhering to the strict letter of every incident, and a wanton licence, in departing from the prescribed rule of true precedent. That Jesus used unleavened bread, we know; as well as that he brake it. But we know these two things by different means—the former, by plain inference; the latter, by direct testimony. That Jesus *intentionally* used unleavened bread we have no right to assume; that he *intentionally* brake the bread is implied in the narrative. The four inspired writers, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul, distinctly specify the act. So important a part of the service was it considered, that from it the whole obtained the name of the "breaking of bread."

The use of consecrated wafers, by putting them upon the tongue of the communicants, as is the custom of the Romish Church, is not only distinctly opposed to apostolic practice, but totally irreconcilable with apostolic language. How can Romanists say of their sacrament, "The bread which *we break*, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" In this particular, as in many others, a Church which continually boasts of its firm adherence to Christian antiquity, is clearly convicted of practising the most glaring innovations. It has lost the broken bread of the Primitive Church—the *fractus panis* of Irenæus and the oldest Latin Fathers.

But of what truth was "the breaking of the bread," made symbolic? It is admitted that the words of Christ may have been, "This is my body, which is *given* (not

*broken*\*) for you" (1 Cor. xi. 24); that the body of Christ was not really broken; that, like the paschal lamb, not a bone of him was to be broken; and that his body was, after his death, preserved from every kind of indignity. But breaking a loaf into several parts, and distributing them to the communicants, is a significant act, of which the apostle supplies the interpretation. "The bread which we break, is it not the communion (the common participation) of the body of Christ?" As the bread is the emblem of the body of Christ, the partaking of the broken parts of the same loaf is a sign of a common reception of the blessings procured, by the one offering of the body of Christ, for all the communicants.

*He gave it to the disciples.* As this act is mentioned also in reference to the cup, I reserve the remarks on the distribution of the elements, until I notice what Jesus said of the wine, of which, in the Romish Church, no distribution is made to the people.

According to Matthew, Jesus said on the distribution of the bread, "*Take, eat; this is my body:*" and on the distribution of the wine, "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." According to the best manuscripts of Mark, he said, "Take,† this is my body," and "This is my blood of the (new)‡ covenant which is shed for many." In Luke the words are, "This is my body which is given for you," and "This cup is the new covenant in my blood which is shed for you." According to St. Paul, Jesus said, "This is my body which is broken (or given) for you: this do for my memorial," and "This cup is the new covenant in my blood: do this, as often as ye drink of it, for my memorial."

I have cited the words of Jesus, spoken in reference to

\* The word *κλάμενον*, marked doubtful by Griesbach and other critics, is wanting in the best manuscripts. *Διδόμενον* (given) is supported by the Vulgate, and agrees with Luke, but is deficient in manuscript authority.

† *Φάγετε*, eat, wanting in the best MSS.

‡ *Καινῆς*, new, wanting in several good MSS., and of doubtful authority.

the cup as well as to the bread ; because I have to consider the argument in favour of the real presence, which is deduced from these words ; and to do so fairly, we ought to have before us all that Jesus said upon the occasion.

To believe in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, is no very moderate achievement of faith. But how shall we believe in the absolute and entire transubstantiation of the elements into the true body and blood of the Lord Jesus, so that after the consecration they are no longer bread and wine, but real flesh and blood ; and not only so, but the very identical flesh which was crucified, and blood which was shed upon the cross ? Confining our attention for the present to the true interpretation of our Lord's words, we have a right to require, that they contain a very clear, express, and unambiguous declaration of the fact, before we can believe in the performance, in many places, every day, by many priests, of the most incredible and stupendous of all miracles. To turn water into wine is a miracle which we believe Jesus performed. But to turn water into the very identical wine which the guests had before drunk, which water had been in the waterpots hard by, while the wine was also in the cups, is something which we cannot define. If it be called a miracle, we can only say, our blessed Lord never professed to perform any such miracle. Be it observed, that the creation of a body out of nothing, and consequently the creation of the whole universe out of nothing, is a miracle which involves no such contradictions, nor metaphysical impossibilities, as the actual and proper conversion of one substance into another substance previously existing, so that they should become truly and absolutely identical. God, if he pleased, could make a new world ; but who could make that new world to be this very identical old world, which has run its thousands of revolutions ?

Previously to examining the testimony pleaded in its



favour, let us consider what amount of evidence we may reasonably require, to induce us to believe a proposition which all candid persons, whether they believe it or not, must admit to be in itself, and apart from its evidence, the most incredible proposition that has ever been proposed to the faith of the human intellect. When the Romish doctrine is stated completely, it teaches that the bread and wine (and every wafer of the former, and every drop of the latter, for this is asserted and necessarily implied) are changed into the whole, perfect body and blood of Christ, and his soul also, and even his divinity.\* To this we must reply that, if the ingenuity of man in all ages had been exercised in devising the most incredible and contradictory of all propositions, it could not have devised one more incredible. It implies that thousands of wafers are made every morning into the one identical body of Christ; and that, as there is only one body of Christ, all these wafers as they appear, existing in various places at the same time, are not many, but only one thing, the one perfect body and soul and divine nature of Christ; that which is put upon the tongue of the faithful Catholic in London, being the very same identical substance as that which is carried through the streets of every Catholic city on the Continent; and again, as that which is preserved on the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome; which, again, is the same as that which is consecrated on every Catholic altar throughout the whole world. All the thousands or myriads of Catholics, communicating at some great festival, eat the very same identical substance. Every priest gives the one only body and soul of Christ to every communicant, and having given it to one, then gives it to another in its

\* Dr. Wiseman says, "That, the blessed Eucharist, which was originally bread and wine, is, by the consecration, changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, together with his soul and divinity; in other words, his complete and entire person."—*Lectures on the Catholic Church*. Lect. xiv. p. 136. See also, *Note of the Rheims Testament* in John vi. 54. *Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii. c. 4.*

perfect integrity, as if he had given it to no one before. But more wonderful than this, the matter becomes spirit, for it becomes the soul of Christ; and yet it remains matter, for it is the body of Christ. Although the body and soul of Christ are essentially distinct, as the body and soul of a man, yet are they in this sacrament made identical, for every particle of the bread becomes at the same moment both Christ's perfect body and his living soul. Moreover, the living soul of Christ never was dead (for souls die not, according to the Catholic, as well as Protestant theology), yet that one living soul has been produced from the inanimate wafer. And further, the body and soul of Christ were never really and truly bread (for to say they were, would imply that they did not at that time exist as body and soul), and yet true and real bread has become the true and real body of the true and living Christ. Through several other propositions hard to believe, we arrive at the completion of this astonishing doctrine, that the bread is changed into the unchangeable divinity of Christ,—made into the uncreated Godhead,—and so the same bread, and every particle of it, becomes at once, not only matter and spirit, but flesh and divinity. Moreover, as there are evidently the properties or accidents of bread after consecration, and yet no bread remains; and as they cannot be properties or accidents of the body, or soul, or divinity of Christ, which has not the colour, or shape, or weight of unfermented wafers; these properties or accidents are only abstractions, belonging to no substance whatever, having no connexion with anything of which they are properties. Such is transubstantiation according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church.

We do not at present say that all this is not true; but we do say, we must have very express and incontrovertible testimony before we can be expected to believe it. We might say, as Tillotson has argued, if all this appeared

clearly written in Scripture, it might be only property and accident, like the appearance of bread in the Sacrament. If we could not believe our senses, there would be no real testimony in letters in which, as in the Sacrament, they might all deceive us. But waiving all such considerations, let us examine the saying of our Lord, "This is my body;" for these words, as Romanists affirm, contain an express and incontrovertible testimony in favour of the whole mystery of transubstantiation.

On referring to the several Evangelists, we cannot fail to observe, that they have not given us the identical words, which were spoken by our Lord at the institution of the Supper, nor even a literal translation of them.

Whether our Lord spoke to his disciples in Syriac or in Greek, is a question not very easily settled. But be it which it may, the language is unimportant in this argument. If it were Syriac, the Evangelists have not supplied an exact translation; if it were Greek, they have not preserved the exact words. They agree, indeed, that Jesus said, "This is my body," and, therefore, we ought readily to admit, that he used words equivalent to that phrase. But did he say, as Matthew and Mark have recorded, "This is my blood of the new covenant"? or as Luke and Paul have written, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood"? There is an interpretation in which the general sense of the two sayings will agree, but it is obviously not the literal interpretation. "This is my blood of the new covenant" is, if it be literally interpreted, a very different proposition from "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." Did our Lord literally say, that the wine was his blood, or that the cup was a covenant? If we interpret the words figuratively, the interpretation of the two sentences is substantially the same. The wine is the emblem of the blood which ratified the new covenant, and, therefore, of the covenant which is ratified with the blood of Christ. Here is no inconsistency. But the words cannot

be interpreted literally without a direct contradiction ; for if the wine literally became blood, it did not become a covenant. But without a literal interpretation the Romish doctrine has no support.

If the Evangelists intended to supply us with arguments adequate to sustain the great and extraordinary doctrine of transubstantiation, would they not have been careful to have given us the identical words of our blessed Lord ? If Luke and Paul understood the words of our Lord to have contained a direct assertion, that the wine became really and truly his own blood, they surely would not have proposed it in the form, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." By so doing, they have produced a sentence, which does not contain the doctrine supposed to be taught in the assertion of our blessed Lord. They must, therefore, have understood him to have spoken figuratively, whatever were the exact words which he used. But if the words, "This is my blood," were understood figuratively by Luke and Paul, then the words, "This is my body," may be also understood figuratively by those who construe Scripture after their example.

But we further maintain that the words, "This is my body," even if understood in their most exact and literal signification, do nothing at all to sustain the marvellous doctrine of transubstantiation. If Jesus worked the extraordinary miracle of converting a passover cake into his own body, is that a proof that any other person ever did, or ever could do, the same thing ? That miracle does not authenticate its own repetition, much less its unlimited multiplication, so as to enable many priests, in many distant places, to change many different wafers into the one undivided and perfect body of Christ. Jesus changed water into wine, but does that miracle encourage any of his disciples to believe that, by doing as he did, they also can, at a marriage-feast, change water into wine ? Romish priests might, with as good show of argument, profess so



Bless a marriage; and we verily believe that, in the dark ages, some of them would have conferred that blessing, had they not suspected that the guests would not have drunk the miraculous wine of their making. Where has Jesus transmitted to all priests this marvellous power of converting bread into his own body? When those who profess, by doing what Jesus did and saying what he said, to change bread into his body, work other miracles, as evident to the senses as the miracles of Jesus, we will allow that, if he changed bread into his flesh, they may by his power do the same thing. Until they do his mighty works, the repetition of his words, "This is my body," affords no evidence of their innumerable transubstantiations.

But how do the words, "This is my body," literally understood, prove that the bread became the soul of Christ, and even his divine nature? Surely Catholic doctors force more into this text than they can extract from it. Although Jesus said nothing of his soul or his divinity, yet the wonder-working *Hoc est corpus meum*, is adduced as the irrefragable argument in favour of the doctrine of the transubstantiation of the bread into the body, soul, and divinity of Christ. To reply that the body is used for the whole person, spiritual as well as corporeal, divine as well as human, is to relinquish the plain literality of our Lord's words, and, after the manner of Protestants, to resort to a figurative interpretation.

But we may, with great propriety, look for the true interpretation of our Lord's words to the emblematical service, at the close of which they were spoken. The passover was especially a service of commemoration and emblem. Everything was a symbol,—the lamb, the bitter herbs, the unleavened bread. "Thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and

for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt. Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year." Exod. xiii. 8—10.

When the disciples had eaten this commemorative supper, Jesus took bread, saying, "This is my body, which is given for you; this do for a memorial of me." Of the cup he said, "This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, for a memorial of me." As the passover was a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt, so the Lord's Supper was appointed for a memorial of the death of Jesus. The passover was a memorial by appropriate signs, "a sign upon the hand, and a memorial between the eyes." We infer, that the Lord's Supper, so intimately connected with it, was also a memorial by signs appropriate to the events commemorated.

But observe the language employed in elucidation of the memorial and signs of the passover. The answer appointed to be given to the inquiry of the children was, "It is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses." Exod. xii. 27. Although the word here used, זֶבַח, denotes a sacrifice in the most general sense, a thank-offering of a slain beast, or even a beast slain on a festive occasion, it is here intended to designate the lamb which was the memorial of the Lord's passover, and which was sacrificial, only as commemorative, not as propitiatory. In that annual celebration, although it was called the passover, there was, strictly speaking, no passing over any house (no פָּסַח). But as the calling of the feast a passover, or the lamb a paschal, did not make the former an actual passing over, nor the latter a real sacrifice, whose blood averted the angel of death; so the calling of the bread the body of Christ, or the wine his blood, did not constitute

the signs the things signified, nor the memorials the things commemorated. The language of our Lord, thus figuratively expounded, is perfectly consistent with the usual mode of speaking at the paschal supper, which he had just before celebrated.

In reference, not only to the lamb, but to all the subordinate emblems of the paschal supper, this figurative mode of calling the signs by the names of the things signified, was continually employed. Such a style is commonly applied to all national and religious commemorations. Although the Jews had no legal directions for many of these observances, that they were kept as traditions of the elders in the time of our Lord, there can be no reasonable doubt. Although all the words sometimes adduced from Rabbinical authorities, in reference to the unleavened bread or the bitter herbs, may not with absolute certainty be traced to so early a time, quite enough is found on good authority, and even sustained by Scripture, to prove the emblematical character of every part of the service. Besides, so far as we can trace the points of the resemblance, our Lord observed the passover very much as the Rabbinical authorities represent it to have been celebrated. In the original institution no wine was appointed to be used; the Rabbinical writers say, wine was introduced, and Jesus gave to his disciples the cup of the fruit of the vine. The law prescribed that the Jews should eat the passover standing; the Rabbinical authorities represent the persons as reclining, and Jesus, with his disciples, sat or reclined at the supper. Moses appointed no hymns to be sung; the Rabbins describe the hymns, and Jesus, with his disciples, sang a hymn. As Jesus observed these later customs, we may conclude that he kept the feast very much as it is described in the books of Jewish authorities. The unleavened bread represented the bread which their fathers hastily took in their kneading-troughs upon their shoulders; and the bitter herbs, the hard

bondage of their ancestors in Egypt. For these particulars we have higher authority than the Rabbinical writers, whatever may be thought of other emblems, as of the thick sauce, which was said to represent the clay of their fathers in Egypt.\*

It has been observed that, in the original saying of our Lord, he probably observed the elliptical form of expression, which was common in similar phrases of the Hebrew, Syriac, and cognate dialects. It is not improbable that the original form of our Lord's expression was—Lo, my body! Although we do not certainly know in what language our Lord spake, nor what words he actually used, yet it is reasonable to assume that he spake in accordance with the idiom of his native tongue. There are several instances, in the Septuagint, of the Hebrew word לֹה, Lo, being rendered by the Greek demonstrative, τοῦτο, this. A passage occurs in the law so nearly resembling the subsequent words of our Lord, "This is the blood of the new covenant," that it might have been present to his mind, and suggested his words. Moses said, "behold the blood of the covenant" (לֹה דַם הַבְּרִית). Although in the Septuagint this is rendered with exact literality, yet the rendering appears foreign to the Greek idiom. But in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the words are rendered into a more idiomatic version, "This (τοῦτο) is the blood of the covenant," (Heb. ix. 20). That the Evangelists, in translating our Lord's words, observed the same difference in the idiomatic expressions of the two languages, is not improbable.

If we insist upon the strict literality of the Greek words in the Gospels, how can we consistently interpret the inquiries of the apostle Paul, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" The body of Christ, and the communion of his body, are not identical. If the bread be

\* See Appendix C.



literally his body, it is not literally the communion of his body. The literal interpretation must here be relinquished by those who hold the doctrine of transubstantiation. But if these words are to be interpreted figuratively,—“The bread which we break, is it not the sign of the communion of his body?”—the sign of the communion of the body cannot be anything else than a symbol of the body itself.

Dr. Wiseman reasons upon the words of our Lord in a manner which, however plausible, is absolutely subversive of the whole doctrine of transubstantiation. In attempting to refute the objections which Protestants have often alleged against the literal interpretation, by adducing such sayings as, “That rock was Christ,” he replies, “Christ does not say, bread is my body, and wine is my blood; which in point of construction would have brought these words within a possibility of a comparison with ‘The seven kine are seven years,’ or, ‘The horns are kings.’ But, he says, ‘*This* is my body,’ and ‘*This* is my blood.’ The ‘*this*’ is nothing. It represents nothing; it means nothing, till identified at the close of the sentence with the substance named. This is even more marked in the original Greek than in our language, because the distinction of genders shows clearly, that the bread is not indicated, but only a vague something to be determined by the remainder of the sentence.”\*

The argument of Dr. Wiseman is founded upon the distinction between the two phrases, “This bread is my body,” and “This is my body.” Had the former been used, he admits it must have been used figuratively; for bread cannot be a body, and the proper interpretation would have been, “This bread symbolizes my body.” But, according to the learned Cardinal, our Lord purposely avoided that phrase, and selected the pronoun, on purpose to intimate that the substance in his hand was not bread, but verily and indeed his own body. In noticing Dr. Wiseman’s in-

\* Lectures on the Eucharist, Lect. V.

terpretation of the words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," we shall hereafter see how he controverts his own reasoning; but, at present, it is sufficient to observe that the indefinite thing, which the learned Cardinal says is not called bread, but body, is elsewhere expressly called bread. And if it were bread, it could not have been, according to the admission of his Eminence, flesh at the same time, though it might have symbolized the body of Christ.\*

What says St. Paul? "As often as ye *eat this bread*, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall *eat this bread*, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him *eat of that bread*, and drink of that cup." (1 Cor. xi. 26—28.) In these words the substance eaten is expressly called bread,—bread when it is eaten, not, as Catholics say, bread before the consecration. But if it be bread, it cannot, according to Dr. Wiseman, as well as to common sense, be true flesh. So Tertullian says, "Christ called *the bread* his body." (Adv. Jud.) Cyprian, "The Lord calls *the bread*, which is constituted of the union of many grains, his body." (Ep. ad Magnum, lxix.) And Augustine, "The Lord calls *the bread* his body," citing the words of Cyprian (De Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. vii. c. 50). These holy fathers represent Christ as calling bread his body, that is, as doing what Dr. Wiseman acknowledges is subversive of the doctrine of transubstantiation. A long list of citations from ecclesiastical authorities might be easily produced, in which the elements of the Sacrament, *as they exist after the consecration*, are called bread and wine. The primitive Church is in direct opposition either to the doctrine of transubstantiation, or to Dr. Wiseman's elaborate argument in its defence.

But we have further to inquire, how came the power of

\* See Appendix C.

converting the bread of the Sacrament into the body of Christ, to belong to the four Latin words, *Hoc est corpus meum*? According to the Catholic doctors, the whole change is effected, on the repetition of these words by the priest, with a good intention. Until the utterance of these mystic words, the substance is true and real bread. Even until the repetition of the last syllabic sound, it is only bread. If the priest were smitten with apoplexy, when he had said, *Hoc est corpus me*—without the final—*um*, we are told that no transubstantiation would be effected. But where in Scripture, or where else, is the proof of the marvellous virtue of these four words? Do Catholics suppose that Jesus spoke Latin? Do they believe that he changed the bread into his body, by the virtue of this Latin sentence? Did the apostle Paul in Corinth repeat the Latin formula? Did the Greek fathers, Ignatius, Polycarp, Clemens Alexandrinus, the Gregories, Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, consecrate their elements in the Latin tongue? If any words will work these wonders, surely the Syriac words originally spoken by Jesus, or the Greek words of the Evangelists, ought to be endowed with this great and wonderful power. But the Latin version is declared to be the channel, through which is conveyed this surprising grace of God. If this be true, the Catholic church of the first centuries, with the exception of the branches of it in Italy, Western Europe, and North Africa, could not have consecrated the elements, and consequently, had not the body of Christ to impart to its communicants. I suppose our Anglo-Catholics believe, that the English words will secure the real presence; or do they mutter the Latin phrase, while pretending to pronounce English words? But quite enough has been said to show the folly of the attempt to demonstrate transubstantiation, by adducing the words of Jerome, or some unknown translator, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

Very much that we have said upon transubstantiation, is equally applicable to the Lutheran doctrine of consub-

stantiation, and to every form in which the corporeal presence of Christ is inferred from the words of the institution. Indeed, any other form of the real presence than transubstantiation, has not even the poor plea of a literal interpretation. The words interpreted in strict literality denote, this (meaning what Jesus held in his hand) "This is my body," not my body is incorporated with it. If the strictly literal interpretation, contrary to all the reasons we have assigned, must be maintained, it will carry with it the whole doctrine of transubstantiation, with all its manifold absurdities. In endeavouring to relieve the doctrine of the real presence from the gross contradictions of transubstantiation, Lutherans, Anglo-Catholics, and some others, have relinquished the only semblance of Scriptural support, which can be pleaded in favour of their doctrine. Our Lord's words either mean just what thorough Romanists say they mean, "This, which looks like bread, is not really bread, but is my body;" or else they must be understood in a figurative sense; and if they are figurative, they can afford no support to the doctrine of the real presence, in whatever form it be proposed.

In the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the only words recorded, as spoken in connexion with the distribution of the bread, are, "Take eat; this is my body." Luke and Paul add, "which is given (or broken) for you: this do for my memorial." What is meant by a memorial does not admit of the slightest doubt. The phrase illustrates the analogy between the passover and the Lord's Supper. "This day shall be to you for a memorial," was the law of the passover, and all its rites were accordingly commemorative. After observing those paschal memorials, Jesus said, "Do this for my memorial." Can there be any doubt that the object he had in view, in the institution of the Lord's Supper, was the commemoration of his sacrificial death, by the observance of these emblematical rites, which he committed to his disciples on "the same night in which he was betrayed"?



## APPENDIX TO LECTURE X.

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A. Page 189.

### DATE OF THE FIRST APOLOGY OF JUSTIN MARTYR.

OF the great value of Justin's writings, and especially of his Apologies, it is not easy to form too high an opinion. So detailed an account of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, from the pen of a convert from pagan philosophy, who was born, as there can be little doubt, before the end of the first century, who had travelled over Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Italy, and become well acquainted with the customs of the primitive Christians, who must often have conversed with such pastors and aged saints as remembered the apostles and their companions, who supplies the most pleasing evidence of an inquisitive disposition, a sound judgment, and a generous love of truth—is a treasure, second in importance only to the authorized accounts of the evangelists. His writings, moreover, supply the most ancient and valuable testimonies to the authenticity of the canonical Gospels; and indeed they contain, in one sense, an ancient gospel in themselves; for a brief memoir of the life of Jesus might be collected from them.

Of the authenticity of the First Apology, there has never been any doubt; at least, any doubt worthy of the slightest consideration. That it was written and presented to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, as early as the year 138 or 139, is the opinion of the greatest number of ecclesiastical historians and sacred critics, and among them Neander, and Semisch who has paid the closest attention to the writings of Justin. The reason assigned for so early a date is plausible, and certainly more forcible than any reason offered in favour

of a later date. The Apology is addressed to Titus Antoninus Pius, to Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, and to the Senate and People of Rome. The dedication is in accordance with the mode commonly observed in documents, presented to the Emperor and his associates in the government. Accordingly, their titles are fully enumerated. As the adopted son of the emperor, Marcus Aurelius, is not addressed as Cæsar, although Justin presented the address in Rome, it is inferred with good reason that Aurelius had not then received that honourable title. But Marcus Aurelius was consul with Antoninus Pius in the year A.D. 140, and it is known that he had previously received the title of Cæsar, that is, in the course of the year 139. Antoninus became emperor in the year 138. It is, therefore, inferred that Justin presented his Apology in the course of the years 138 and 139; that is, between the accession of Antoninus and the first consulate of Aurelius. The objections alleged against this reasoning are, that Justin might not have correctly enumerated the titles of the Cæsar, or that his dedication may not have been correctly preserved; and recent attempts have been made to improve the text of the manuscripts. But it may well be asked, What reasonable objection can be alleged against a date to which we are brought by the internal evidence of the Apology itself? I can find none of importance. Be that as it may, the very latest date which has been assigned to this Apology, that of Tillemont, more recently supported by Ritter, in his "*Animadversiones in Primam Justinì Martyris Apologiam*," is that of A.D. 150. But important as is the early and detailed account of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, contained in this Apology, still more important is its early testimony to the "Memorials called Gospels, composed by the Apostles and their Companions."

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### B. Page 191.

#### OF THE "MEMORIALS" CITED BY JUSTIN MARTYR.

That the Memorials (*τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα*) cited by Justin Martyr, in his account of the Lord's Supper, and frequently quoted elsewhere in his writings, were the canonical Gospels, is a proposition which appears to me so evidently true, that I cannot but express surprise that any scholars should have denied, or even doubted it. The fact is of the utmost importance in establishing the authenticity of the Gospels, as it is a firm and immovable foundation, on which the external evidence safely rests. That any German critics in their licen-

tiousness should have denied this truth, appears very strange ; but that they should have been supported in their denial by Bishop Marsh, and other English critics, seems absolutely incredible.

If this proposition be true, it proves by the most incontrovertible evidence that, in an age when some pastors and teachers were living, who were acquainted with the contemporaries of the apostles, the canonical Gospels were received by Christians, as books of the highest authority, containing a correct account of the things relating to the Lord Jesus, and were read in the public assemblies on the first day of the week, in connexion with the Books of the Prophets, by a public reader, at considerable length. That these “Memorials” were no other than the canonical Gospels appears from every consideration, which I am able to give to the evidence.

The authors are thus described :—Those who have written memorials concerning all things relating to our Saviour Jesus Christ (*οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*). The books are said to have been composed by the apostles and their companions (*ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι*). They were called Gospels (*ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*). It is evident from the testimony of Papias and Irenæus, that the canonical Gospels were in that age known as composed, two of them by the apostles, Matthew and John, and the other two by the interpreters of the apostles, Mark the interpreter of Peter, and Luke the interpreter of Paul. Whoever will compare the account of the Gospels given by Papias, somewhat earlier than Justin, that Mark was the interpreter of Peter (Eusebius, lib. iii. c. 39), and that by Irenæus, a few years later, that Matthew and John published their Gospels, and that Mark delivered the Gospel which Peter preached, and Luke that which Paul preached (*Contra Hæres. lib. iii. c. 1*), must be satisfied that no description of the four Gospels could have been more accordant with the traditions of the age of Justin, than “Memorials composed by the Apostles and their Companions.”

He who denies that Justin thus describes the canonical Gospels, must believe that books were in his time extant, containing memoirs of the life of the Lord Jesus Christ,—that these books were held in the highest esteem by the Christians of that age,—that they were read in the public assemblies on the first day of every week, together with the writings of the prophets,—that they were called “Gospels,” and were believed to be “composed by apostles and their companions,”—that they had a general correspondence with the canonical Gospels in almost every fact which they mention, and to a considerable extent even in their language,—that Justin, the apologist of the

Christians, cites them as his best authority, in an address to the emperor, in confirmation of facts which are recorded in our Gospels, —and yet, that these books, so generally known and so highly valued, suddenly disappeared from the church, and were never afterwards noticed by any ecclesiastical writer,—that after the most diligent inquiry, not the slightest trace can be discovered of the manner in which they perished,—and that other ancient writers never allude to them, although they often refer to the same facts as those for which Justin cites these “Memorials.” To believe this is, we think, the extreme of credulity.

But what are the objections, which have induced some to deny that these “Memorials” were the same books as the canonical Gospels? However gravely it has been stated that the names of the evangelists are not mentioned, this objection seems unworthy of a serious refutation. Whatever were the books which Justin cited, he cited them as the productions of the apostles and their companions. Why should he not have cited our Gospels, under that very appropriate designation, as well as any other apostolic writings whatever? What Gospels were ever known as composed by apostles, but those of Matthew and John? or by companions of the apostles, but those of Mark and Luke? Quote whatever books he might, he quoted them without a more distinct specification, and the objection has no more force applied to our Gospels, than it has to any other book. Were any preacher now in the habit of citing from the New Testament, by saying, as it is written in the Gospels, without appending the name of the evangelists, would he be liable to the charge of quoting from other books than the canonical Gospels?

Another objection, adduced by Bishop Marsh and others, is the want of verbal coincidence between the citations of Justin Martyr, and the corresponding passages in the canonical Gospels. The force of this objection must depend upon the degree of coincidence, or discrepancy, which exists between the words cited by Justin and those found in our present copies of the Gospels. Although the coincidence is far from being exact, I maintain that it is quite as much so as is sufficient to prove that Justin quoted from the evangelists, and that the discrepancy is not more than may be explained by considerations, the reasonableness of which must be apparent to every candid inquirer. These considerations may be thus stated.

1. Ancient writers were not careful about verbal accuracy in their citations from preceding authors. They often cited from memory; the books which they quoted were often not accessible, at the time they adduced the quotations. The referring to a passage in a scroll



was much more troublesome than is our turning over the leaves of a book; nor had they the many conveniences of numbered pages, chapters, sections, and other regular divisions, which render exact citation so easy with us.

2. The want of verbal accuracy in the citations from Holy Scripture is observed in almost all the ancient writings of the church. All critics of the New Testament have observed, how seldom we can depend upon the citations of the Greek fathers, as authority for the verbal criticism of the original text, unless the writers had some specific object in citing the exact words, as when they expound the phraseology, or represent an argument as depending upon the identical words. An English reader may observe, how the citations of the Old Testament are varied on their introduction into the writings of the apostles, and he may thus obtain an illustration of the degree of accuracy with which the books of the New Testament are often cited by the fathers.

3. Justin does not profess to cite the very words of the "Memorials." He adduces them as authority for the *facts* which he alleges, or the *doctrines* which he attributes to the Founder of the Christian faith. A general statement of the fact would accomplish his purpose, as well as an accurate copy of the words.

4. Justin does not preserve the exact words in his citations from other writings. He sometimes cites the Septuagint version, as well as heathen writers, and thus affords an opportunity of comparing his several quotations from different books. It has been sometimes said that Justin is extremely accurate in his citations from the Septuagint, but his inaccuracy has been noticed by almost all commentators on his writings. Professor Norton produces an instance of similar verbal inaccuracy in a quotation from Plato.\*

5. Justin, in citing from the Gospels, had the varied expressions of several evangelists in his mind, and some variety would naturally arise from mingling and confusing their several accounts in his memory. If, therefore, it could be shown that his citations from the Gospels were less correct than those from the Septuagint, or from heathen writers, such a result might be easily explained. I do not, however, admit that there is less accuracy in the former than in the latter quotations.

6. It is certain that Justin did not cite his "Memorials," whatever they were, with verbal accuracy; for in more than half the

\* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 319—325. In some instances, however, Justin cites the classics with verbal accuracy, as in some quotations from Plutarch in the *Cohor. ad Gr.*, if it be genuine.

instances in which he cites the same passages, the discrepancy in the language is very considerable. These repeated quotations afford the most conclusive evidence of the general inaccuracy of Justin's manner of citing his authorities.\*

Of the citations from the "Memorials," the following instances are not selected as the most favourable to any hypothesis, but adduced as all the references to the Sermon on the Mount, in the order in which they occur in the First Apology. Bishop Marsh produced these citations to show that Justin did not cite the canonical Gospels.† Let the English reader decide for himself, keeping in mind the considerations I have suggested. On his account I give a literal version, although to the scholar the evidence will appear more conclusive on a comparison of the original passages in Justin with those in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The original of the following citations may be found in Thirlby's edition of the First Apology, pp. 21—26; or in Norton, pp. 316—319, as well as in Marsh's Illustrations:—

"Whosoever may have looked on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery in his heart before God." . . . "If thy right eye make thee offend, pluck it out; for it is profitable for thee with one eye to enter into the kingdom of heaven, rather than with two, to be sent to everlasting fire." . . . "Whoso marrieth her that is put away from another man, committeth adultery." . . . "If ye love them that love you, what new thing do ye, for even the fornicators do this; but I say to you, pray for your enemies, and love those that hate you, and bless those who curse you, and pray for those who spitefully use you." . . . "Give to every one that asketh, and from him who wishes to borrow turn not away; for if ye lend to them from whom ye hope to receive, what new thing do ye? This even the publicans do." . . . "And do you not lay up treasures for yourselves upon earth, where moth and corruption destroy, and thieves break through. But lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven, where neither moth nor corruption destroys." . . . "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall he give in exchange for it?" . . . "Be kind and merciful, as your Father is kind and merciful, and makes his sun to rise upon sinners, and the righteous and the wicked." . . . "Be not careful of what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on; are you not better than the fowls and the beasts? and God feeds them. For your heavenly Father knows that ye have need of these things. But

\* See Norton on the Gospels, vol. i. pp. 326—330.

† Marsh's Illustrations of his Hypothesis. Appendix, pp. 51—55.

seek the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added to you. For where the treasure is there also is the mind of the man." . . . "Do not these things to be seen by men, otherwise ye have no reward from your Father who is in heaven." . . . "To him who strikes your cheek, turn the other also; and him who taketh away your coat and your cloak hinder not." . . . "But whoever is made angry is condemned to the fire." . . . "And every one who engages you to go a mile, go with him two." . . . "And let your good works shine before men, that they who see may admire your Father who is in heaven." . . . "Swear not at all, but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; but what is more than these is of evil." . . . "Not every one who saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." . . . "He who heareth me, and doeth the things which I say, heareth him who sent me." . . . "And many shall say to me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in thy name, and done wonders? And then shall I say to them, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, then shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine as the sun, and the unrighteous shall be sent to everlasting fire." . . . "For many shall come in my name, outwardly clothed in skins of sheep, but inwardly being ravening wolves." . . . "By their works ye shall know them, and every tree which does not bring forth good fruit, is cut down and cast into the fire."

These may be considered as fair specimens of the citations of Justin. Even through the disadvantage of a literal translation their correspondence with the Gospels is very obvious.

A third objection alleged by those who deny that Justin made use of the canonical Gospels is, that he relates some things respecting Jesus, which are not found in our copies of those Gospels. But Justin in only one instance professes to cite the "Memorials" as his authority for such relations. Later writers, who unquestionably made use of the four Gospels, refer to several sayings and works of Jesus which are not mentioned in them. They had certain traditions; many rumours respecting Jesus were prevalent. Why might not Justin have heard many things of Jesus which were not recorded in his "Memorials"?

It is true that Justin cites the "Memorials" of the apostles, in proof of his statement that God said at the baptism of Jesus, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." These words, it must be acknowledged, do not occur in the Gospels; but it is remarkable that they are also declared to have been uttered at the baptism of

Jesus, by several of the fathers who made constant use of the New Testament. Augustin says that these words were found in some manuscripts of Luke's Gospel, as they still are in the venerable Codex Bezae. It is, therefore, not impossible that this might have been a various reading in the copy of Luke's Gospel which Justin consulted. Still more probable is it, that Justin, having read in the Gospel the words spoken at the baptism, "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased," might have cited by mistake the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." A more important discrepancy must be found, before we can surrender the evidence which has been already adduced to prove that Justin cited the canonical Gospels. As to the fire which Justin says was kindled in Jordan at the baptism of Jesus, he does not cite the "Memorials" as his authority for that statement.

Let it be also observed that Justin undoubtedly and professedly quoted the Old Testament Scriptures; that he believed the Septuagint version to have been made under especial Divine influence; and yet, as Norton has distinctly shown, he twice refers to the Pentateuch as his authority for facts which are not recorded in that book. We therefore conclude, with very little hesitation, that Justin Martyr made use of the Canonical Gospels, when he cited the "Memorials" composed by the Apostles and their Companions."

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### C. Pages 222 and 224.

#### DR. WISEMAN'S LECTURES ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

At the close of Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, are three lectures on Transubstantiation, of which the second is a discourse on the words of the institution, "And while they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye and eat, *This is my body*. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for *this is my blood* of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." So far as the exposition which I have given of these words is affected by the argument of the learned cardinal, a few remarks may be needful.

Speaking of the general spirit of Dr. Wiseman's lectures, I must



say that I have never seen any controversy which so well deserves to be called *artful*. With a very plausible manner, and many professions of candour where nothing is really conceded to truth, there continually occurs, half concealed by specious declamation, the most lamentable perversion of fact and argument. Of the perversion of fact one instance will be sufficient to justify my assertion. Contrasting, in his Sixth Lecture, the success of Catholic, with the failure of Protestant missions, he notices the Protestant Mission to the Islands of the South Seas, and is compelled to concede to it "all that can be called outward success." But in accounting for this "outward success" he says, "It is a known fact that the natives of these islands, from seeing the superiority of the traders from other nations, and principally of those from America, were led to ask for missionaries to propagate Christianity among them. This at once forbids our considering the establishment of Christianity there, as the result of any principle of faith presented to the acceptance of the individuals." (Vol. ii. p. 196.) Of this "*known fact*," I am compelled to say, it is a *known falsehood*. No natives ever asked the first missionaries in the islands of the Pacific "to propagate Christianity among them." The men who eventually, under the blessing of God, converted so many of the Polynesian tribes to the faith of Christ, went among them uninvited and unknown, and remained through long and anxious years without making any converts. They laboured at the hazard of their lives, until, after the lapse of several years, they obtained that success which Dr. Wiseman thus unscrupulously misrepresents. In reference to this mission, the champion of Popery, assuming the plausible guise in which he can insinuate the most scandalous falsehoods, says, "I should be sorry to enter into a history of it, because it seems to present one of the most lamentable effects of misguided zeal that probably could be conceived." Is he then silent upon these "most lamentable effects"? With this profession of sorrowful silence, he proceeds to adduce the calumnies which profligate sailors and their officers have published respecting the islands, and says not a word about the direct contradictions which have been given to them by commanders of Her Majesty's navy of the highest character and rank. Although these remarks may appear to be unconnected with our subject, I could not refrain from exposing, where the exposure may be so easily verified, the plausible misrepresentations of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

On the subject of the Eucharist his tact and management in plausible misrepresentation are often as easily discovered. We find him,

for instance, citing Protestant writers who make apparent concessions in favour of the Catholic doctrine, when, upon examination, these Protestant authorities are ascertained to be Lutheran, or Anglo-Catholic, who believed in the real presence, and consequently their interpretations of our Lord's words, "Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you," are not concessions, but assertions in defence of their own doctrine, in opposition to the Reformed Church. Yet Dr. Wiseman cites their language so as to make it appear like a concession to the force of truth, in opposition to their own avowed opinions. To adduce a Lutheran theologian as interpreting a text in a manner favourable to the real presence, is doing no service at all to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation; and yet Dr. Wiseman, by resorting to this artifice, gains the appearance of a triumph in favour of his own cause.

But I have to consider how far his specious representations affect the argument of the preceding Lecture. I noticed in p. 219, that the passover was a service of commemoration by appropriate emblems, and among the signs were specified the lamb, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs. Dr. Wiseman thus reasons in opposition to this argument:—"It has been often said that the apostles had a very natural clue to the interpretation of our Saviour's words, by the ceremony, or formula, ordinarily used in the celebration of the paschal feast. We are told by many writers, and modern ones particularly, that it was customary for the master of the house to take in his hand a morsel of unleavened bread, and pronounce these words, 'This is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate,' evidently meaning, This represents the bread of affliction which our fathers ate." The Doctor then asserts that "No such formula existed in our Lord's time" (Lectures, vol. ii., p. 198), and appeals to the oldest treatise on the paschal feast possessed by the Jews, which does not contain this speech.

We have to inquire, passing over the controversy about the antiquity of these words, Does the cardinal mean to insinuate, that the argument on the analogies of the passover depends chiefly upon that saying respecting the unleavened bread? Protestant writers who adduce it, do so as only one among the many signs of the passover. They give this only as an instance of an emblematical service; and Dr. Wiseman, by his silence on the other analogies, would leave his readers to suppose, that it stands alone as the one argument in favour of the figurative interpretation. But no misrepresentation can be more unfair. We need no rabbinical authorities to obtain that "very

natural clue to the interpretation of our Saviour's words, from the ceremony, or formula, ordinarily used in the celebration of the paschal feast." There is authority sufficiently ancient for this purpose. What says Moses of the unleavened bread? "Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee." . . . "And thou shall show thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes." (Exod. xiii. 7—9.) Who requires the authority of the Rabbins to prove that the unleavened bread was a sign upon their hands? The argument is *not* so much from the Rabbins as from Moses. The "very natural clue to the interpretation" is, If the unleavened bread previously eaten was a sign and memorial, so the bread eaten according to the command, "This do for a memorial of me," was also a sign and memorial. Bitter herbs were appointed by Moses, and do we need any authority to interpret them as the sign of "the lives bitter with hard bondage in Egypt"? As to the paschal lamb, we have seen that it was neither a sacrifice, nor a passover, in any other sense than as a memorial of the Lord's passover, when he passed over the houses of the children of Israel. To prove that the paschal supper was emblematical, of what importance is the authority of the Rabbins?

I have considered in the Lecture the argument which Dr. Wiseman thus proposes:—"Had our Saviour said, 'This bread is my body,' 'This wine is my blood,' there would have been some contradiction. The apostles might have said, 'Wine cannot be his blood,' 'Bread cannot be his body;' but when our Saviour uses this indefinite word, we arrive at its meaning only at the conclusion of the sentence." It may be as well to observe that the Doctor adduces several texts, in only one class of which he admits that the verb "to be," denotes "to represent." These texts are in the form:—"The ten horns are the ten kingdoms." "The field is the world." He says, these texts mean "The ten horns *represent* the ten kingdoms." "The field *represents* the world." But he contends that, as it is not said—"This *bread* is my body," but "*This* is my body," this text does not belong to the same class. Had it been—"This *bread* is my body," it would have denoted "This bread represents my body." (Vol. ii. p. 179.)

Having already replied to his remarks on this class, let us pass to the next class of texts, in which a pronoun is the subject of the verb, as "I am the door." "I am the true vine." Dr. Wiseman says,



these texts "have nothing at all to do with the subject ; for the verb to be does not signify to represent." What then does it signify ? He says, "'I represent the door ;' that is not Christ's meaning. 'I am as the door,' 'I *resemble* the door ;' that is what he wished to express." (Vol. ii. p. 180.) Very good. But how has this "nothing at all to do with the subject" ? Transubstantiation fares quite as badly upon the word "*resemble*," as upon the word "*represent*." Let us so understand it in the words of our Lord. "This *resembles* my body," is quite as Protestant an interpretation as, "This *represents* my body." Seeing the cardinal has found authority for the former, which he denies to the latter, let it be so. And if he asks, how the bread could resemble the body of Christ, I reply, in being broken and given for the disciples, a resemblance which Jesus himself points out in his own exposition of his own act. We will not contend for the *representation* ; but thankfully accept the *resemblance*, which his eminence himself gives us, and venture to say, with due respect for his summary observation, it has something to do with the subject. The interpretation, 'This resembles my body in being broken, or given, for you,' 'This resembles my blood in being shed for you,' is the doctrine of Zwingli, supported by the learned criticism of Dr. Wiseman. How his eminence expected to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation by such arguments, I do not profess to be able to ascertain.

Further, if he insists upon an instance of the pronoun "this," as the subject of the verb to be, he may find it in John vi. 50. "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven." Whether "*this*," *represents* the bread, or *resembles* the bread, is of no importance. It is not verily and indeed the bread itself. Yet how easy it is to construct Dr. Wiseman's argument upon these words ! Jesus speaking of himself, said, "*This* is the bread." But "*this*" means nothing until we arrive at the conclusion of the sentence. It is an indefinite thing until it is defined by the subsequent words. On hearing them, we learn that "This is the bread which came down from heaven." That which looked like the body of Jesus was, therefore, not flesh ; but truly and really bread. Thus, the sort of argument which Dr. Wiseman employs to prove that what looked like bread was really flesh, will prove with equal clearness and force, that what looked like flesh was really bread. In ridiculing the absurdity of one application of the argument, as I am sure Dr. Wiseman would count it unworthy of serious refutation, he exposes the sophistry of the other to which he has resorted in his defence of transubstantiation.

If Dr. Wiseman insists upon an instance in which the substantive



verb denotes to *represent*, and not to resemble, he may easily find it in connexion with this sacrament, and in a passage which must often have been the subject of his thoughts. How else can any one interpret the words of Jesus, as they are recorded by St. Paul? "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." They cannot mean, This cup resembles the new covenant. No other signification has ever yet been discovered in them than the very obvious one, This cup represents the new covenant in my blood.

That Dr. Wiseman confidently appeals to Scripture in proof of the doctrine of transubstantiation, is a fact deserving the attention of those who observe the progress of opinion and truth. The old mode of defending that doctrine by appeal to the decision of ecclesiastical authority, is found to be insufficient and unavailing. There was a time, when no true son of the Church would condescend to reason with heretics by resorting to the aid of Holy Scripture. Although Cardinal Wiseman adduces his Scriptural texts with so much confidence, there have been other cardinals who, in accordance with the ablest defenders of the Catholic doctrine, have confessed that transubstantiation cannot be certainly proved from Scripture. Bishop Cosin, in his *History of Transubstantiation*, adduces the words of "the most learned schoolmen, who agree with Scotus that there is not any place in Scripture so express as to compel a man to admit of transubstantiation, were it not that the Church hath declared for it." The authorities cited by him are two cardinals, one of whom, Cardinal Cameracensis, confesses that "transubstantiation cannot be proved out of the Scriptures." The other, Cajetan, says, "There is not anything of force enough in the Gospel to make us understand in a proper sense the words, 'This is my body.' That presence, which the Church believes in the sacrament, cannot be proved by the words of Christ without the declaration of the Church."—(Cosin's *History of Transubstantiation*, ch. 5.)

Even Bellarmine himself speaks doubtfully upon this subject; for he says, "though he might bring Scripture clear enough, as he thought, to prove transubstantiation to a candid man, yet it would be doubtful, whether he had done it with propriety, since the most learned and acute men, and chiefly Scotus, had held the contrary opinion." *Nam etiamsi Scriptura, quam nos supra adduximus, videatur nobis tam clara ut possit cogere hominem non protervum; tamen an ita sit merito dubitari potest, cum homines doctissimi et acutissimi, quam imprimis Scotus fuit, contrarium sentiant.* (Bell. de Euch. lib. iii. c. 23.) We have been told of father against father, council against council, pope against pope, and we have here car-

dinal against cardinal, for Cardinal Wiseman thinks that the words of Scripture are so clear and forcible in proof of transubstantiation, that "it is impossible to add strength or clearness to the expressions themselves." (Lectures on Transubstantiation, part 2.) If, however, the cardinal condescends to appeal to Scripture, by so doing he admits the propriety of fair criticism and reasoning upon the subject. If by such criticism and reasoning he is not willing to be bound, should the results be contrary to the decisions of the Catholic church, his appeal to Holy Scripture is but mockery and delusion.

## LECTURE XI.

### THE INSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

(Continued.)

"After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."—1 Cor. xi. 25.

"*He took the cup.*" Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul say, Jesus "took the cup;" but no one of them tells us what liquid was contained in that cup. That it contained wine no one has the slightest doubt; yet the strict literalists, who require a positive injunction, or a clear precedent, for every particle of religious observance, must use wine in the sacrament, (if they use it at all,) confiding in their inferential reasoning on the extreme probability of the fact, or on the well-known rites of the Jewish passover.

A strict adherent of the letter might decline the use of wine, and defend himself against inferential reasoning, much in the same way as he defends himself in other controversies. He might say, that we do not know the Jews drank wine at the passover, upon any better than rabbinical authority; that the introduction of wine was an innovation upon the Mosaic institution, with which we do not know that our Lord complied; that the words, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine," might have been spoken according to the order related in Luke, in reference, not to the sacramental, but to a preceding cup. To

all this we reply, that, in the total absence of strictly literal proof, we drink wine in the sacrament with as much confidence in a reasonable presumption, that Christ appointed wine to be drunk, as we eat bread in the faith of the words, "He took bread," and gave it to his disciples.

While, however, we unhesitatingly believe that the cup which Jesus took contained wine, we have little doubt that the wine was mingled with water. Every reader of ecclesiastical history knows how prevalent was the custom of mingling wine and water in the sacramental cup. It is not improbable that this custom was derived from the primitive practice, or even from the example of our Lord at the institution of the service.

The ancients, especially those who were temperate, both in the East and among the Greeks, usually diluted with water the wine which they drank at their ordinary meals.\* Among the Hebrews, "*Wisdom mingled her cup,*" when "she furnished her table." The common use of the phrase is sufficient to show the prevalence of the practice. The Jews at the paschal feast drank their wine as they were accustomed to drink it on other festive occasions. Were there no other reason for their adherence to their ordinary practice, the freedom with which they drank it at the passover in their rejoicing cups, rendered it needful for temperate men to "mingle their wine," as they did when they furnished their own festive table. The rabbinical authorities are uniform in their testimony, and very particular in their minute directions, about the proportions of the mingling water and wine. The drinking of the four cups of pure wine would not, according to a current maxim of the Gemara, be doing the whole duty of the drinking at the passover. According to Maimonides, "the wine must needs be mingled, that the drinking of it may be more free and pleasant."†

\* Athenæus, in his *Deipnosophist*, supplies abundant evidence of this.

† For the authorities, see Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, chap. xiii.



Some recent expositors of Christian antiquity have asserted that the cup contained unfermented wine; and among them Professor Stüart has strenuously contended, that unfermented wine was exclusively used at the pass-over.\* In support of this opinion, the learned Professor has adduced the directions given by the Rabbins for making new wine from raisins at the passover, and drinking it before its fermentation commenced. That such has been the later practice of the Jews he proves clearly enough; and that it arose out of their excessive scrupulosity about the presence of leaven is undeniable. When those tithers of "mint, anise, and cummin," who sought for leaven with candles, in every nook and corner of their houses, discovered it in the fermented wine which they drank, they began to make new wine from dried grapes. But that such sort of wine was used in the time of our Lord, is exceedingly improbable, as it is asserted without adequate proof.

The use of unfermented wine is inconsistent with the original and professed design of the introduction of wine, which, according to the rabbinical authorities themselves, was to exhilarate their spirits. The Jerusalem Talmud says, "A man must cheer up his wife and children, to make them rejoice at the festival. And with what do they cheer them up withal? With wine."† Such exhilaration seems not very likely to have come from the drinking of water in which raisins had been soaked. Nor do the frequent directions about the diluting with water, that "the wine might be drunk with freedom and delight," seem very consistent with the process of extracting a sweet beverage from rasins. Professor Stuart says, "It was no object of the passover meal to gratify the taste, when unleavened bread and bitter herbs were the appropriate viands." But if the bitter herbs were the emblem of the

\* In a dissertation on 1 Cor. xi. 23—25, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pt. iii.

† See Lightfoot, as before.

hard bondage of their fathers in Egypt, and the unleavened bread of their hasty flight, the generous wine was the emblem of their freedom and enjoyment of the promised land of Canaan.

Nor is it probable that the unfermented juice of the grape, or syrup of raisins diluted with water, was the beverage used in the assemblies of the Corinthian church, when the apostle said to them, "One is hungry and another is drunken." Although I do not suppose the word *drunken* is here to be understood, as if any person had been actually and grossly intoxicated; yet it must denote that some had drunk to excess, and therefore had drunk a liquor of which persons gratify their appetite by drinking immoderately.

As early after the apostolic age as we can discover the usages of the church, the mingling of wine and water in the cup of thanksgiving appears to have been universal. In the account we have cited from Justin Martyr, he says, "Bread and a cup of wine and water are brought to the president." Irenæus mentions the diluting of the cup (*temperamentum calicis*);\* and again, the mingled cup (*mistus calix*).† Cyprian says, "The cup of the Lord is not water alone, nor wine alone, but both mingled."‡ Clement of Alexandria represents the wine as mingled with water.§ The Apostolic Constitutions, and the Council of Carthage (A.D. 253), direct the use of wine mixed with water.|| We might cite also the words of Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, and numerous other authorities, as late as the Council of Trent, which directed that the mixture (the *κράμα* of the Greeks, and *mistum* of the Latins) should be used in the sacrament of the Eucharist. It is now

\* Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 57.

† Ep. ad. Cæcil. 63.

‡ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 11.

§ Pædag. lib. ii.

|| Panis et vinum aquæ mixtum. Can. 24.

universal in the Romish Church, and the mingling is exalted into a great mystery.

If it be asked why we do not contend for the mixture of wine and water in the sacramental cup, we reply, although it has been the general practice to dilute the wine with water, which practice was probably derived from the apostolic age, and even from the example of our Lord himself, yet it does not appear that our Lord did more than take the cup which was convenient, and use the beverage, be it wine and water, or pure wine, or unfermented wine, that happened to be in it at the time. We should not object to the restoration of the ancient practice, but we do not consider it obligatory; and perhaps the small quantity of wine now usually sipped renders the practice of diluting it of less importance than it was in the first ages, or rather of no importance at all.

*He gave thanks.* The Evangelists who represent Jesus as blessing the bread, say of the cup, "He gave thanks." Of his thanksgiving over the bread I have already spoken, and need not repeat the remarks, in speaking of the second thanksgiving. If our blessed Lord thought it right to repeat the offering of grateful acknowledgments, and that too after he had offered the thanksgivings of the passover that same evening, we ought not to omit the giving of thanks over "the cup of blessing," which Jesus so blessed.

*He gave it to them, saying, "Drink ye all of it."* In Mark, it is added, "And they all drank of it." The introduction of the word "*all*" deserves to be noticed, especially as it is not used in reference to the eating of the bread. One Evangelist is careful to tell us that Jesus required *all* to drink of the cup, and another that they *all* did drink of it. In the account of the institution, there is not the shadow of a reason for refusing the cup to any who are allowed to partake of the bread. On the contrary, had the words been selected for the purpose of preventing any such distinction, they would have been very much as they are now

found in our manuscripts. In the Corinthian church, there was evidently a distribution of the cup to the same persons as received the bread: "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." The unworthy communicants not only ate the bread, but drank of the cup. A man (not a priest only) was to "examine himself, and so to eat of this bread, and drink of this cup."

In defence of their practice of withholding the cup from the people, Romanists do not usually appeal to the testimony of Scripture. Occasionally they adduce a miserable pretext for a Scriptural reason, as when they say, the sacrament is called "the breaking of bread," but never "the drinking of wine," because the former is essential to the ordinance, and the latter only supplementary; or when they cite the example of Jesus breaking bread at Emmaus without using wine, as if that were the Eucharist. But generally they are content to appeal to the authority of the church, as sufficient, in their estimation, to make such regulations as are considered expedient in matters of ritual and discipline. Yet it does seem strange, when we observe how invariably the cup was given to all communicants in the first ages, and even until a comparatively late period, that the Church of Rome should place itself in direct opposition to that universal stream of Christian antiquity, to which, on other occasions, it is so ready to appeal, in opposition to the alleged innovations of Protestants.

Beginning with Justin Martyr, who describes the deacons as distributing the eucharistical bread and wine, and carrying them to the absent brethren, we find throughout the succeeding times, until the worst age of priestly domination, the most uniform and positive testimony in favour of the distribution of the wine to all the communicants. Where the smallest diversity does not appear, it would be irksome and useless to specify the authorities. In the



earliest homilies addressed to catechumens on their preparation, or to communicants on their partaking, the references to the drinking of the wine are quite as distinct as those which relate to the eating of the bread. When the formula repeated by the president, or the bishop, was, "The body of Christ," "The blood of Christ," "The cup of life," the communicants uttered the responsive Amen, being partakers of the sign of the blood of Christ, as well as that of his body.\* The custom at one time prevailed, to a considerable extent, of dipping the bread in the wine, and giving it to the communicants; and at another, to prevent excess, of putting the cup to the lips by the priest, instead of placing it in the hands of the partakers by the deacon; and occasionally it was entirely withheld; but, generally, to partake of the cup was as much the acknowledged right of the people as of their clergy. Indeed, the opposite abuse once prevailed, the giving of the wine without the bread, when infants were allowed to communicate.

Catholics themselves have defended the withholding of the cup, on account of the lamentable abuses with which the drinking of it has been attended. Undoubtedly, in the dark ages some show of reason might have been found for refusing it to such communicants as then dishonoured the Christian name; but the right course amidst such scandal was clearly prescribed in the New Testament. The perpetrators of such abuses ought to have been excluded entirely from the communion of saints, from *eating* unworthily, as well as *drinking* unworthily, the memorials of the body and blood of Christ. They "could not drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils." Neither could they be "partakers of the Lord's table, and the table of devils."

\* "After partaking of the body of Christ, draw near to the cup of his blood, not stretching out thy hands, but, bending in the manner of worship and veneration, and saying Amen, be hallowed by partaking also of the blood of Christ. And while the moisture is still upon thy lips, touch it with thy hands, and hallow thine eyes and brow, and other senses."—Cyril. *I.ec. Myst.* v. 22.

But the appeal is made chiefly to ecclesiastical authority, which has decided that the cup is not to be received by the laity. To the decision of such an authority there is manifestly no other reply than an examination of the validity of its claim to suspend a plain injunction of the Lord Jesus, to say nothing of the apostolic authority and primitive example by which that injunction was long sustained. Such an examination is without the limits of this discussion. But we may observe that, if in opposition to the institution of our Lord, the uniform practice of the apostolic age, the universal tradition of the Christian church for six or seven centuries, and its general usage to a much later time, the authority pleaded is sufficient to deprive the laity of the cup, it is quite sufficient to deprive the clergy of it also. And further, if it be empowered to prohibit the use of the cup, it may prohibit the communion of the bread also, and may therefore absolutely put an end to the sacramental commemoration of the death of Christ. As such an authority is not restricted to one sacrament, it may abrogate the other also. And where is so absolute a prerogative to stop? That any Church should claim to have this extraordinary power is preposterous; but that a Church which accounts the sacraments to be the only channels of saving grace to sinful men, should assume an authority which, if it were consistently maintained, would allow it entirely to close those channels of salvation, is the most daring presumption of ecclesiastical arrogance. I do not say that the Romish Church claims the power to abrogate the sacraments; but I do maintain that the principle, by which she vindicates her claim to withhold the cup from her people, is quite sufficient, if it be worth anything, to put an immediate interdict upon all sacramental observances, and indeed upon all Christian institutions. To such an authority we will not submit, no, not for an hour; and we honour, as Christian martyrs, the men who died rather than make a voluntary surrender of the liberties wherewith

Christ hath made his people free, even though it were only in the matter of the right of the people to the sacramental cup. A principle of inexpressible importance is involved in the question of the right of the laity to the communion in both kinds.

*“For this is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins,”* are the words attributed to our Lord in the Gospel of Matthew. Mark omits the clause “for the remission of sins.” A more important variation occurs in the account of Luke, confirmed by Paul. According to Luke, Jesus said, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you.” Paul repeats the words, with the omission of the clause “which is shed for you.” Although we cannot confidently determine whether Jesus said, as Matthew and Mark assert, “This is my blood of the new covenant;” or, as Luke and Paul agree, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood;” we may infer from the variation, that the Evangelists gave the signification of our Lord’s sayings, without repeating his identical words, and therefore that these two phrases denote substantially the same thing. This, we have already seen, is fatal to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which requires that the sayings of our Lord be understood literally; whereas the literal signification of these two sayings amounts to a positive contradiction. Understood figuratively, they express the same meaning. The wine was symbolical of the blood by which the new covenant was ratified. If Jesus said, “This is my blood of the new covenant,” his meaning was, This represents my blood, which ratifies the covenant. If he said, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood,” his meaning was, This cup represents the new covenant ratified with my blood. The general signification of both sayings is identical. The wine itself may be regarded as emblematical of the blood of Christ; and the giving of the cup to the disciples, as emblematical of his ratifying the covenant with them.

An illustration is supplied in the account of the sanction which was given to the old covenant, by the blood of the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings sacrificed on that occasion: "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel. And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord. And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient. And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." (Exodus xxiv. 4—8.) The old covenant was ratified by the legislator sprinkling the blood upon the book, and was accepted by the people being sprinkled with that blood. As pardon and peace were assured to the people by the blood of the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings under that old covenant; so pardon and peace, procured by the offering of the body of Christ, are assured to all who accept the propitiatory sacrifice of the new covenant. Hence it is called the new covenant in the blood of Jesus.

St. Paul adds the words, "Do this, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me"—for my memorial. The form, "for my memorial," induces us to conclude, that these words were spoken by Jesus himself, and not appended, as explanation, by the apostle, although they are omitted by two Evangelists, and in Luke used only in reference to the bread. The apostle's object in recording them seems to have been to enforce the importance and solemnity of the service, as a perpetual memorial of the death of the Lord Jesus. Of the meaning of the phrase, "for my memorial," there can be no reasonable doubt. It illustrates



the analogy between the design of the passover and that of the Lord's Supper, both being commemorative institutions. "This day shall be to you for a memorial," was the law of the passover, and all its rites were interpreted as commemorative. After observing these paschal memorials, Jesus said, "This do for my memorial." The apostle appends the exposition, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

In Matthew and Mark, Jesus is represented as having said, in continuation of his address, "But I say unto you I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." In Luke, these words are introduced previously to the account of the Lord's Supper, and in connexion with one of the cups of wine usually drunk at the passover. It is not improbable that Jesus, amidst the many intimations of his approaching death, repeated these words in the course of the evening. His mind was deeply affected with the thought of his death; and from the abundance of his heart his mouth spake. By such observations he desired to prepare the minds of his disciples for their unexpected separation, which, for a time, would disturb their faith and disappoint their hopes. He may have repeated such suggestions, that, after his decease, they might remember he had told them of these things, when he was present with them.

But if these words were spoken only once, there can be little hesitation in determining which of the Evangelists have observed the order of time in relating the sayings of our Lord. The arrangement observed by Matthew and Mark appears more chronological than that of Luke, who seems, in this part of his narrative, to have observed some other order than that of time. This is said, not because greater regard is due to two Evangelists than one, for inspired authorities are not to be counted as so many

numbers in solving a theory of probability,—but because, in relating the events of this evening, Luke manifestly departs in several instances from the chronological order. The dispute of the disciples respecting priority is related by him after the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper; although it is evident, from the other Evangelists, that it took place much earlier in the evening, before Jesus washed their feet and reproved their unseemly contention.

Luke was in the habit of placing in juxtaposition corresponding events, however distant the intervals between their occurrence. So he brought together parables illustrating the same truth; as in one chapter three on the joy of angels over the repentance of a sinner, although there can be little doubt that they were delivered on different occasions. Such an arrangement may be observed especially, in the manner in which he connected the events of the paschal evening. When Jesus sat down he said, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." This saying probably suggested to the Evangelist Luke the thought of placing in immediate connexion with it another saying of similar import, which Matthew and Mark introduced in a subsequent part of the narrative: "I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come." If the order of Matthew and Mark be preserved, or if these words were spoken twice, our Lord said, when he gave the sacramental cup to his disciples, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."

From these words, some have inferred that Jesus did not himself drink of the cup, and, therefore, that he did not partake of the Eucharist. Roman Catholics contend most strenuously that our Lord did not partake of the

bread and wine ; for if he did, according to their doctrine of transubstantiation, he must have eaten his own body and drunk his own blood. Unwilling as they are to expose themselves to the charge of believing so absurd a paradox, it is really no more incredible than their acknowledged doctrine, which implies that Jesus held himself, his perfect body, in his own hand ; and brake himself in pieces, and gave himself, his whole person, to every one of his disciples, who all ate the same identical body. That Romanists should admit so much, and then contend so zealously that Jesus did not partake of the bread, lest they should be chargeable with the absurdity of supposing that he ate himself, seems like excessive scrupulosity produced by the most extravagant credulity. Protestant writers have supported different opinions of this subject.

But what is there in these words from which it can be inferred, that Jesus did not partake of the wine with his disciples ? That Jesus ate the passover, we are expressly told by the Evangelists. But according to Luke, when he sat down with the twelve, “ He said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer : for I say unto you, *I will not any more eat thereof*, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.” His meaning undoubtedly was, that he was about to partake of his last passover with them on earth. *After that evening* he would no more eat thereof. In connexion with this saying, Luke repeats the words of Jesus, “ Take this, and divide it among yourselves : for I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.” Whether our Lord thus spake at the commencement of the passover, or whether the similarity in his two sayings suggested the order in which they are related by Luke,—the one clearly illustrates the meaning of the other. What Jesus meant by eating no more of the passover is quite evident. It is reasonable to infer, that he spake of the wine with the same restriction, meaning he

would not drink it after the feast of that evening. The sentiments present to the mind of Jesus, and which he would impart to his disciples, seem to have been the same as if he had said, It is the last time we shall eat together, or drink together, before I suffer; therefore, "Drink ye all of it." You will never, on earth, drink with me again.

But if, as I have already suggested, these words were spoken on the distribution of the sacramental cup, they do not afford the shadow of a reason for supposing that Jesus did not drink of that cup. According to the order observed in Mark, which is not opposed to that of Matthew, Jesus spake these words *after* the disciples had drunk of that last cup,—“And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink *no more* of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God.” Matthew records the words, “I will not drink *henceforth*,” which seem to imply, he drank on that occasion. Upon the whole, there is little reason to doubt, that Jesus ate the bread and drank the wine with his disciples; and, as it was his last supper with them, it was made the appropriate memorial of his death.

From the expression “new” in the words, until “I drink it *new* with you in my Father’s kingdom,” Professor Stuart infers that the wine then in the cup was new or unfermented. I have already stated my objections to this opinion, and I cannot but express some surprise at finding so sensible and judicious a critic placing any reliance upon such an interpretation. Without examining the many expositions which have been offered of the meaning of the term “new,” I am sure it cannot mean that Jesus would drink unfermented wine with his disciples in heaven, or that he would drink it with them on earth



after his resurrection. But if that be not its meaning, how can it prove that the wine in the cup was unfermented? Many passages may be cited to show that things in heaven, compared with those on earth, are represented as new, either because they are future, or because they are of a very different kind. "Behold I make all things new,"—very different from the present. So we read of a new heaven and a new earth, a new Jerusalem, a new creation, a new heart, a new name, and a new song. Can we not hear of new wine in the midst of so many new things, without thinking of the process of fermentation? The felicity of heaven was often represented by our Lord, in accordance with the prevalent language of the Jews, as a great feast, and he employed terms appropriate to a feast—as the invitation, the sitting down, the eating and drinking, the music and mirth—to illustrate that enjoyment, of which all partake in what is called the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. But all these things will be of a different kind; and so will be the wine which he will drink with us in the kingdom of God.

We are told by Matthew and Mark, "that when they had sung a hymn, they went out." It is not possible to say how much, if any, of the long and interesting conversation of that evening took place between the Supper and the singing, or between the singing and their leaving the room. Although I infer, from the order observed by Matthew and Mark, that the singing occurred immediately after the Eucharist; yet I am not, on that account, prepared to assert that it is an indispensable part of the celebration. There can be no doubt that it is an appropriate close of every eucharistic service.

It is not improbable that our Lord and his disciples sang one of those Psalms of praise which constituted the hallelujah of the paschal service, including the Psalms from the one hundred and thirteenth to the one hundred and eighteenth. What sentiments could have been more

appropriate, either to the celebration of the deliverance from Egyptian bondage, or to the commemoration of our redemption from sin through the death of Jesus, than such as abound in those ancient songs of praise? "I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord. I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the presence of all his people, in the courts of the Lord's house, in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem. Hallelujah." In the early Christian churches, psalmody was generally connected with the eucharistic service. The thirty-fourth Psalm is prescribed in the Apostolic Constitutions, but other Psalms were sung in different churches.\*

The word Hallelujah was, in an early age, employed as an appropriate term in the psalmody of the Christian church. It was understood as an exhortation to praise the Lord, according to the import of the original words, by Augustine, Gregory of Nyssa, and other fathers.† Derived from the church in Jerusalem, it was generally used in the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide, in both the Greek and Latin churches.

We have considered the several particulars, which are mentioned in the four inspired accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper. To review them in their connexion with the paschal service may bring them before us more distinctly and completely. That our Lord observed the passover as it was generally observed by the Jews of his own time, is apparent from several incidents which we have noticed; and if he did so, the events of that evening, so deeply interesting, not only to his disciples who were present, but to all who believe on his name, must have taken place in something like the following order:—

\* "After this ye hear the chanter, with a sacred tune, calling you to the communion of the holy mysteries, and saying, O taste, and see that the Lord is good."—Cyril Lect. in Myst. v. 17.

† Aug. Ex. in Evan. S. Johan. Greg. Nyss. Tract. Inscip. Psal.

“On the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed, Jesus sent Peter and John, saying, Go, prepare us the passover, that we may eat.” As Jesus was in Bethany, the two disciples had to go to Jerusalem to purchase the lamb, and to have it slain in the court of the temple. Near the entrance of the city they found the man whom Jesus had described, and who had a guest chamber, such as the hospitality of the Jews in Jerusalem seldom refused to strangers at the feast, prepared and furnished with the conveniences for the passover. Having engaged his upper room within the city, they procured the lamb, wine, unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and whatever else was needful, and returned to the house to prepare for the coming of Jesus and the other disciples. “They made ready the passover.” After sunset, “when the hour was come,” Jesus came, and sat down, and the twelve apostles with him. Jesus took the place of the president of the feast; and then, I imagine, arose the unseemly strife about priority, for some must have occupied the more honourable positions, and one must have reclined immediately before the Lord, or as it is expressed in the Gospels, “lie in his bosom.”\* Jesus assures them of perfect equality, yet assigns the place of honour to John. Why he did so we are not informed. Some have suggested that the modest spirit of John might have shown less disposition to seek the more exalted position; but the mother of Zebedee’s children had inspired her sons with somewhat of her own love of pre-eminence. It is more probable that John, being very young, would, according to prevalent usage, have taken the lowest place, and that Jesus made the last

\* There is a prevalent opinion that the honour done to John was more special and extraordinary. Jesus only assigned him the place of honour immediately before himself, which some one else must have occupied, if John had not. The expression in John xxi. 20, refers to a very different action, which our translators have unhappily mistaken. John turned round upon the breast of Jesus to inquire who should betray him. It should be rendered, “he fell back upon his breast, and said, Lord, who is it that shall betray thee?”

to be first, as a lesson of humility to all. Having drunk the first cup of diluted wine with thanksgiving offered by Jesus, and washed their hands, they placed the several dishes on the table, and drank the second cup. How far our Lord observed the various ceremonies appointed by the Rabbins at this part of the feast, as the eating of salad, the dipping of herbs in the dish of thick sauce, which represented the clay of Egypt, the removal of the dishes, and restoring them, to excite the children's inquiry, "What mean ye by this service?" we may not be able to ascertain. But supper being ended, at the time when they washed their hands again, our Lord seems to have "risen, and taken a towel, and girded himself," and washed the feet of his disciples. A third cup, called the cup of blessing, was then handed round, and especial thanksgivings were offered. This seems to have been the cup mentioned by Luke, before his account of the institution. Jesus then took a passover cake, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "This is my body which is given for you." With similar thanksgiving he took the cup, when he had supped, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," or, "This is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for the remission of sins: drink ye all of it. This do ye, as oft as ye drink of it, for a memorial of me." This was the fourth cup of the passover, after which they sang a hymn, and went away.

We can glean very little information respecting the Lord's Supper from other parts of the New Testament. Nor do we need it; for the accounts of this institution are so express and distinct, that we can have no difficulty in following the precedent which it supplies. The few slight references of the inspired writers may suggest two or three observations.

The observance soon obtained the name of "the breaking of bread." This phrase was too commonly used to



allow us to restrict it absolutely to the observance of the Lord's Supper. The two disciples who returned from Emmaus related, "how Jesus was known of them in the breaking of bread," which was certainly not the Lord's Supper. But this passage illustrates a very common occurrence in the history of language.

A phrase often gradually assumes a more restricted sense than that to which it was originally applied. So "the breaking of bread," although it was previously used in its general signification, was appropriated to the more solemn rite of commemorating the death of Jesus. That this is its signification in Acts ii. 42, is sufficiently apparent from the connexion,—“And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.” The breaking of bread was obviously the designation of a part of the sacred service of the first Christians; and it was reckoned in that early age so important a part, as to have been mentioned in a description of the religious service of the first Christians, where only four particulars were noticed. Whether, in the 46th verse, the same service is intended, may admit of some doubt. “And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.” I see, however, no insuperable objection. As the disciples could not conveniently have observed the Lord's Supper in the portico of the temple, so they were compelled to seek some more appropriate place, in such upper rooms of the large houses in Jerusalem as afforded sufficient accommodation. If this be the correct interpretation, it shows how careful the first Christians were, even before there was time completely to organize their church and appoint all its officers, to celebrate the memorial of their Saviour's death. We need not suppose, that small companies met in the ordinary rooms of their private houses to observe this celebration. Their meeting together in

large upper rooms, or wherever they could find sufficient accommodation, might well be called "their breaking of bread (*κατ' οἶκον*) in several houses in succession."

Another Scriptural designation is "the Lord's Supper" (*κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*). "When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper." 1 Cor. xi. 20. It has been denied, especially by Roman Catholics, that this term is intended to designate the Eucharist; but it appears to me that it can designate nothing else. Whether the apostle meant that he would not acknowledge their service to be "the Lord's Supper," or that the Corinthians themselves did not so regard it, the meaning of the phrase is very obvious from its connexion. It was a *public* service, for the Corinthians came "together into one place" to observe it. It is mentioned in contrast with a private supper—"each takes before-time his own supper." The apostle would not commend, but rather reproved them, for the irreverent manner in which they conducted the solemn service. "In this I praise you not." He then proceeded to give a full and particular account of the manner in which our Lord himself instituted the religious observance, which they were regularly to observe in their church. Correcting the abuses and evils, which had become attached to some service of the Corinthian church, he related the several deeds and express words of our Saviour, when he instituted the Eucharist. Was that service the *agape*, as some assert? Why should the apostle cite the example of our Lord at the institution of the Eucharist, as supplying the proper rule by which the Corinthians should correct their abuses of the love-feast? The apostle is his own interpreter. His meaning is clear, obvious, and consistent. It is—You do not keep the feast of the Lord's Supper with propriety; for Jesus, at the institution, has set you the example of observing it in a very different manner. But to support this consistent interpretation, we must admit that, by the terms "the

Lord's supper," the apostle designated the sacramental service of the Corinthian church.

What appellation could have been more appropriate? Instituted in the evening, in connexion with the paschal supper, and bearing considerable resemblance to it, it was observed for the memorial of the Lord Jesus. So 'Tertullian' calls it, the "*Convivium Dominicum*." "What (heathen) will suffer his wife to go to the Lord's feast, which they defame?" \*

Many other names have been given to this service by Christians, in early and later times. Some of them have been derived from the superstitious observances which have been connected with it; as "the Oblation," "the Sacrifice," "the Mystery of Christ's Body," "the Mass," and "the Sacrament of the Altar." Only two ecclesiastical names have any semblance of Scriptural authority. They are "the Communion," and "the Eucharist."

The former has not direct Scriptural authority. The communion or fellowship (*κοινωνία*), mentioned in Acts ii. 42, cannot denote the Lord's Supper, because it is distinguished from "the breaking of bread." The name, however, seems to be indirectly sanctioned by the words of the apostles. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not *the communion* of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not *the communion* of the body of Christ?"

The Eucharist is an appellation derived from the expression in the Gospels, *εὐχαριστήσας*, having given thanks. No word can be more appropriate to this offering of thanksgiving and praise. Justin Martyr calls the elements "eucharistic food," food over which thanks have been given. The name is of very common occurrence in ecclesiastical history. Of similar import is the name *eulogia*, or blessing, occasionally employed by the earlier writers.

\* Ad Uxorem, lib. ii. cap. 4.

As these two words, "Communion" and "Eucharist," are in themselves appropriate, and as they describe important parts of the service, we regard them as unexceptionable designations of the Lord's Supper. Some persons, who account the Bible to be a glossary of good words, object to both as unscriptural. Their objection is founded on a misunderstanding of the object for which Scripture was written. Of such scrupulous people we may well inquire, As the Bible is not an English book, whose version would you impose upon us, when you make it the lexicon of theological terms for English writers? Both terms are very ancient, and have been very prevalent. It is enough for us to reject the ecclesiastical terms when they represent unscriptural ideas, as we do so most determinately, when we meet with such words as "the Oblation," "the Sacrifice," "the Mystery," or "the Mass."\*

The additional circumstances which we learn from Scriptural allusions are, that the disciples came together to one place, that they did so on the first day of the week, and that they had for their furniture a table, a cup, and a loaf.

We have already cited the passages which show that the disciples came together. "On the first day of the week, the disciples" at Troas "came together to break bread" in a large upper room, furnished with many lamps. The expression intimates, that the breaking of bread was the avowed object of their meeting on that day. If it were so, that first day was especially appropriated to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. And though the celebration might have been occasionally, or even frequently, observed on other days, as it was instituted on a Thursday evening, yet ancient testimonies confirm our conclusion,

\* Some few writers have applied the term *ἀγάπη*, in Jude 12, (and in 2 Peter ii. 13, if that reading be received,) to the Lord's Supper. It seems, however, much more applicable to the more festive occasion of the Church, —the feast of charity.



that the first day of the week was usually appropriated to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. So in the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan, respecting the Christians of that early age,\* it is said, "They are accustomed to meet together, on a stated day, before the light, to sing a hymn to Christ, as to God; to bind themselves by an oath not to commit any crime; . . . and to assemble again to partake of food promiscuously, but not in a disorderly manner." There can be little doubt that the "stated day" was the first day of the week, and the promiscuous food the Lord's Supper, perhaps with the *agape*, usually eaten before it. So Justin Martyr, in the passage already cited, says, "On the day called Sunday, all that live in the same city, or country, assemble in one place, . . . and the bread and wine and water are brought," &c. Such was the earliest custom, and hence the first day of the week obtained the name of *dies panis*, the bread-day. I see no evidence, either in Scripture, or in the earliest ecclesiastical writers, to sustain the opinion that the Lord's Supper was usually celebrated on any other day, however some have contended that it was daily observed.† In Acts ii. 46, it is said, "They were persevering every day in the temple with one accord, and breaking bread in several houses." But this might be said, if they daily worshipped in the temple, and on certain occasions assembled to break bread in several private houses. In later times we find the celebration of the Eucharist on festive days, especially with great pomp at Easter.

As to the time of the day in which the celebration was observed, very little can be ascertained. As the rite was instituted in the evening, and as it early obtained the

\* A.D. 109 to 111.

† That the Eucharist was daily received in the African church, in the third century, we learn from Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.* c. 13. The custom soon prevailed in Italy and the West generally.

name of the Lord's Supper, some have considered the evening as the only appropriate season. The disciples at Troas met to break bread in the evening; for Paul prolonged his discourse until midnight. In early ecclesiastical writers we find notices of the celebration in the night,\* but more frequently in the early part of the morning; as in Tertullian, who speaks of it as before daylight, until it became the general practice of both the Greek and Latin Church to observe the rite in the early part of the day, and before taking any common meal. As so little is said in Scripture of the time and frequency of the observance, we contend for the right of every Christian society to make such arrangements as may best promote the edification of its members. In such matters as these, a church may surely have its own "custom." "As often," be it with more or less frequency, in the morning of the first day, as a thankful commemoration of Christ on the feast of his resurrection, or in the evening, as a supper in remembrance of his dying injunction, "as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

That a table was used is apparent from the words of the apostle, "You cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and the table of devils." A table is essentially different from an altar. The former bears the same relation to a repast as the latter does to a sacrifice. Were the Eucharist a sacrifice, or even an oblation, the apostle would have spoken of the communicants as partakers, not of the table, but of the altar. He evidently regarded the service in the same manner as did the first Christians, and their heathen examiner, Pliny, "a promiscuous but inoffensive meal." As the table around which the apostles reclined at the institution, was not regarded by them as an altar;

\* Augustin, Ep. 118. ad. Jan. Ambrose, Serm. 8, in Ps. 118. To the ancient celebration at night may be attributed the custom of burning lights on the altar of a Catholic church.

for the paschal lamb had been slain at the altar in the temple, and was placed upon "the table" at the supper; so, in the apostolic age, the name and the service of an altar were unknown amongst the partakers of the Lord's table. That the service was, in the estimation of the apostle, divested of all sacrificial ideas, is the more apparent from the connexion of his words. He had previously alluded to the sacrifices and altars of the Jews,—“Behold Israel after the flesh, are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?” With these thoughts in his mind, and these words on his paper, if he had regarded the Lord's Supper as the Christian sacrifice, would he so suddenly and abruptly have relinquished the use of sacrificial terms? In Coleman's *Compilation of the Antiquities of the Christian church* from Augusti, it is said (p. 131), “The apostle (1 Cor. x. 21) uses the term ‘table of the Lord’ as synonymous with an altar. We are constrained, therefore, to believe that a table was set apart for this sacred purpose, like that of the shew-bread—a *mystica mensa*—a table sacred to the purpose of celebrating the Lord's Supper.” It appears to me that the apostle, so far from making the table synonymous with an altar, most clearly intimates the great difference between them. Had the first Christians an altar, the apostle might have expressed the contrast in more direct and distinct terms, by saying to those who had been associated in the sacrificial feasts of the idol's temple, “Ye cannot be partakers of the *altar* of the Lord, and the altar of devils.” But as Christ's church in that age had no altar, he could only say, “Ye cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord, and the table of devils.” That table, by the side of the Jewish altar and the heathen sacrifice, has an appearance much more puritanic than catholic. As to a “mystic table,” especially appropriate to the Sacrament of the Supper, it has no more sanction in the New Testament than an altar of stone.

Instead of a table, we soon find an altar in the church ; and very soon afterwards, appropriate to the altar, the priests, and a sacred enclosure, or chancel, into which they only were permitted to enter. A decree of the Council of Laodicea forbids any other than the clergy to approach the altar, or to communicate there. Such were the evils which followed the application of sacrificial terms to the commemorative rite of the Lord's Supper.

The words of the apostle (1 Cor. x. 16) seem to intimate that in the service there was one loaf and one cup,—"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The loaf which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Because there is one loaf, we being many are one body, for we all partake of that one loaf." As one loaf and one cup represent the unity of the one body of Christ, consisting of many members, it is desirable to retain the ancient symbol. If it be inconvenient on account of the number of communicants, I would not insist upon the form, though the inconvenience may be obviated if one loaf were broken into several parts before the distribution, and one large cup or flagon contained the whole of the wine, from which it might be poured into several cups after the thanksgiving. In many large churches this form is observed without the slightest inconvenience.

The earliest instances of departing from the use of one cup do not recommend the alteration. Two cups were introduced, in order that the wine of the clergy might be distinguished from that of the laity. A cup for the exclusive use of the former represented too faithfully the arrogant and exclusive spirit, by which they were prompted to claim the unchristian distinction of pre-eminence in the service of the church. This spirit eventually led to the refusal of the wine to the laity ; and so one cup remained for the priesthood, the appropriate emblem of their profane as-



sumption of all the power and privileges of the Christian church.

I have thus called your attention to the several particulars of which we have any information in Scripture, respecting the mode of administering the Lord's Supper. To complete the notice of all the inspired writers say on the subject, I may cite two passages in which the apostle speaks of the practical influence which the solemn service should have on our conduct, and of the spirit and manner with which we should observe it. How impressive and affecting is the exhortation to avoid all association with the heathen in their idolatrous rites, when it is supported by the appeal to the communion of the body and blood of Christ! Let it be carefully observed by all professing Christians, that the same exhortation is equally applicable to their associating with ungodly men in any profane practice whatever. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one loaf, for we are all partakers of that one loaf." "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils." How solemn are the considerations suggested by the address! "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do announce the Lord's death until he come. Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup; for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, not discerning the Lord's body. For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep. For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be disapproved. But being disapproved, we are corrected by the Lord, that we should not be

condemned with the world. Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together for judgment." (1 Cor. xi. 26—34.)

From these passages we learn, that our association with ungodly men in their sinful practices, totally disqualifies us for the communion of the Lord's Supper. Such inconsistency is not tolerable; "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils." By communicating in the Lord's Supper we profess our belief in the death of Christ, and therefore announce it to others. It is for us to consider in what spirit we engage in so sacred a service. Self-examination is rightly demanded. The Lord's body must be discerned by faith in his death, must be devoutly regarded in the act of commemoration. To communicate without this regard to the body and blood of Jesus, is to eat and drink unworthily, and to bring judgment upon ourselves. In rendering the words "eateth and drinketh *judgment*" (instead of damnation) "to himself," I have been solicitous to supply an equivalent translation, without endeavouring, in compliance with the wishes of some, to soften and lower the awful declaration of the apostle. That judgment, be it observed, is no other than the punishment of those guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord. What can that be less than damnation?

In a preceding Lecture I have noticed the probability, suggested by the references in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, of some connexion in that church between the Lord's Supper and the agape. All that I need observe at present is, that some feast probably preceded the celebration of the Supper in the Corinthian church, at which occurred the excesses which the apostle so severely and properly rebuked. Whatever that feast was, whether an agape, or a kind of paschal supper, it had no other connexion with the Lord's Supper than that which the apostle so distinctly condemned.

On consulting the accounts we have cited from Justin Martyr, we find two or three particulars which are not mentioned in the New Testament. Scripture says nothing of an administrator. Justin mentions a president, to whom the bread and wine were brought, and who offered thanksgivings and praises to God. In a subsequent age, we find a remarkable contrast. Instead of thanksgiving we have consecration, and instead of praise we have an oblation. Tertullian, like Justin, speaks of a president.\* But we soon find the consecration restricted to the bishop, called chief-priest (*ἀρχιερεύς*), if he were present, or in his absence, to a priest, without whom the rite could not be celebrated.

Justin also says, that the elements were distributed by the deacons. In the absence of Scriptural direction, this practice is peculiarly appropriate to the office of those who are selected, as men of unblemished character, to assist the elders in the secular administration of the Church. The distribution by the deacons continued for a considerable time. Cyprian incidentally refers to the custom, in observing on a certain occasion that, after the solemnities of the consecration were completed, the deacon offered the cup to those who were present.† The usage of Congregational churches at the present time, exactly corresponds with this very ancient practice. In distributing the bread and the cup by the hands of the deacons, we have an illustration of a fact, which is exemplified in several other particulars, that in returning to a more simple form of worship, our societies have unintentionally resumed several customs of the primitive church. If Catholics and Tractarians adduce the example of the third and fourth century, we can confidently appeal for our precedents to the first and second.

Justin represents the communicants as expressing their concurrence in the thanksgiving, by responding at the close

\* Nor should we receive it from the hands of any other than the presidents.—De Coron. c. 3.

† De Lapsis, c. 16.

with the word Amen. This practice seems to have existed in the apostolic age, in connexion, not only with the thanksgiving of the Eucharist, but with the general services of the church. Thus the apostle inquires, "How shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" Since he represents the Amen, as the usual response to the giving of thanks, we cannot suppose that it was neglected in the service which was especially eucharistical. As Justin Martyr, writing while some were living who had communicated with the apostles in their old age, assures us that the same response was repeated in his time, we have very little doubt, that the communicants in the apostolic churches expressed by their Amen their personal concurrence with the thanksgiving of the president. Justin illustrates the words of Paul, and Paul confirms the statement of Justin. In saying that Congregational churches have resumed several early usages of the primitive churches, I should have been glad to have included this venerable and apostolic response. What could be more appropriate than the audibly expressed Amen of the communicants, concurring with the president in giving thanks over the bread and wine?

Justin cites the words of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me," "This is my body," and "This is my blood," as we have them in the Gospels; and it may be supposed these same words were repeated by the president in his time. But when in a subsequent age the words were slightly changed, the response was continued. Even so late as the time in which the document called the Apostolic Constitutions was composed, and which, as appears by its manifold corruptions of apostolic simplicity, could not have been earlier than the middle of the fourth century, the elements were presented with little alteration of the original words, in the form,—“The body of Christ,” “The



blood of Christ," "The cup of life;" to which the communicants added the ancient response, Amen.

The Lord's Prayer was, from a very early time, in the Greek churches, repeated in the course of the administration of the Eucharist. But this repetition was so customary in all the services of the ancient churches, excepting those at which the catechumens were present, that it cannot be considered as having any peculiar connexion with the Lord's Supper. According to Tertullian, the repetition of the Lord's Prayer preceded the general prayers of the church.\* In the time of Gregory, it was at the conclusion of the service.† Many erroneously interpreted the daily bread in that prayer to be the bread of the Eucharist.

According to Justin, the sacramental service was succeeded by a voluntary contribution, the amount of which constituted a fund for the support of widows and orphans, and for the relief of prisoners, and strangers, and sick persons. These contributions were sometimes called offerings, and even sacrifices, and so were the bread and wine presented by the brethren. Such terms have been, as we shall hereafter see, mistaken in later times, and applied as if the bread and wine were sacrifices offered by a priest to God, instead of offerings made by the brethren for the use of the church. Although such contributions ought not to be considered as a part of the sacramental service, yet they form a peculiarly appropriate sequel. When the rich and the poor sit at the same table, eat of the same bread, and drink of the same cup, in commemoration of the unexampled love of their common Saviour, what occasion can be more suitable for them to act as brethren and sisters in Christ, and to make the practical application of their own profession, "If God so loved us, how ought we to love one another?"

\* De Oratione.

† Lib. vii. Ep. lxiv.

It should also be observed, that the practice observed in Congregational churches, of collecting for the poor at the close of the communion, is more nearly in accordance with the usage of the church in the time of Justin, than is the collection of alms and oblations, as directed in the Church of England, before the distribution of the elements. Nor do we think the rubric of the offertory is in accordance with the simple almsgiving of the primitive Christians. It directs the deacon, churchwarden, or other fit person, "reverently to bring it" (the bason of offerings) "to the priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy table." In the early Congregational churches the contribution for the poor and the wants of the church, was a service, both in spirit and in manner, more nearly resembling the primitive practice than any contribution of modern times. A very affecting description of such an offertory may be cited from an account of the early Congregational churches in New England, by a traveller who visited the settlements of the Pilgrim Fathers, in the year 1641. In speaking of the Congregational church in the rising settlement of Boston, he says:—"Once a month is a Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, whereof notice is usually given a fortnight before; and then, all the others departing except the church, they receive the sacrament, the ministers and ruling elders sitting at the table, the rest in their seats or upon forms. Any one, though not of the church, may in Boston come in and see the sacrament administered, if he will." The writer having given an account of other services, and of a baptism, continues,— "which ended, there followeth the contribution, one of the deacons saying, Now is the time for the contribution, whereof as God hath prospered you so freely offer. Then the magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and all the congregation of men, all single persons, widows, and women in the absence of their husbands, come up one after another, and bring their offerings to the

deacon at his seat, and put them into a box of wood if it be money or papers promising money, or if it be any other chattel, as clothing, or bread, or valuable thing, they lay it down before the deacons. I have seen a fair gilt cup with a cover offered there. Which money and goods the deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the ministers, and the poor of the church, and the church's occasions." By reading of such a contribution we are reminded of the offerings of the primitive church, which "they laid down at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made to every man according as he had need."

Neither the sacred writers nor Justin notice the position of the communicants. That the disciples continued during the institution in the reclining posture, in which they partook of the paschal supper, there can be no reasonable doubt. Even Romish painters invariably represent them as reclining, or sitting around the table, and every eye would perceive the inconsistency of any other attitude. So when the apostle says, "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils," he suggests the idea of sitting at the table of the Lord, as the heathen sat at the tables of their idolatrous feasts. The seat and the table correspond. It may be also worthy of attention that, although according to the original directions, the passover was to be eaten by the Israelites *standing*, our Lord complied with the later custom of sitting down or reclining to celebrate the passover, for "when the hour was come he sat down with his disciples."\* Although sitting or reclin-

\* The reclining at the passover was a custom so directly opposed to the express command of Moses, that we cannot but observe how our Lord complied with the customs of his own time, even when they were manifestly at variance with the letter of the law. The reason assigned by the Rabbins was, that the reclining position signified the enjoyment of the land of Canaan, and was appropriate to those who were not, like their fathers, travellers in the wilderness. Lightfoot says:—"They ate not the passover but sitting. 'No, not the poorest in Israel might eat it, till he was set down.' (Talmud in Pesach. cap. 10.) P. Simeon, (in the Jerusalem Gemara) in the name of

ing at the table was the apostolic practice, yet standing to receive the elements became, at a very early period, the general custom. So late as the time of the Apostolic Constitutions, the people knelt only at the close of the communion, to receive the blessing of the priest. The practice of kneeling at the distribution of the elements was not common until so late as the twelfth century. The Church of England imposes, as a term of her communion, a practice which did not become general until a considerably later age.

From the time of Justin Martyr we observe the rise of many abuses in the church, by which the simplicity of this ordinance was lamentably corrupted. To trace them in detail would be a wearisome and not very useful employment. The sacrificial terms, at first employed figuratively, soon came into common use, and were divested of their figurative signification. Irenæus speaks of offering a sacrifice, and maintains that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, in a sense opposed to those who contended that all sacrifices had ceased. Origen commends the due caution and veneration of those who took care, that not the smallest particle of the consecrated gifts should be wasted. The same scrupulous care of the elements is noticed by Tertullian. In the succeeding age, the ele-

R. Joshua, the son of Levi, saith, 'That olive quantity, that sufficeth to discharge a man that he hath eaten the passover, he must eat it sitting down,' and so it is said Jesus sat down with the twelve. Now this sitting at their passover-eating, was not after the manner of our sitting at the table, nor after the manner of their *ordinary* sitting at other times, but a special posture by itself. And so they themselves used to observe, and to speak of it as they say; 'How different is this night from all other nights; for all other nights we eat either sitting or leaning; but this night we all sit leaning.' . . . On the passover night, they thought they were obliged to use the leaning posture, and you may take their reason for it in some of their own words. 'They used this leaning posture as free men do in memorial of their freedom.' R. Levi saith, 'Because it is the manner of servants to eat standing, therefore now they eat sitting and leaning, to show that they were got out of servitude into freedom.'"—Lightfoot, Temple Service, ch. xiii.



ments became more religiously venerated, the service more scrupulously formal, and communicants more superstitiously prepared. The ordinance was observed as a profound mystery, which no profane persons, not even catechumens, might witness. The elements were consecrated with much ceremony by the bishop, officiating with great pomp, in splendid attire. The altar was made of stone, and usually covered with white and fine linen. The consecrated elements were exhibited before the people, until the host, as the bread was called, was elevated for the adoration of the assembly. Incense was introduced, and the sign of the cross became a conspicuous emblem of the service. The cup was highly ornamented with emblematical representations. In the course of time, the priest professed to offer a true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the communicants; and not only for their sins, but for those of the dead as well as of the living. To this doctrine the ceremonial became accommodated in every particular; so that, if we can refute the doctrine, we need trouble ourselves very little about the ceremonial.

We propose, in the subsequent Lectures, to maintain, that the Lord's Supper is a sacramental commemoration of the propitiatory sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, once offered for the sins of the world. We shall have to distinguish between the sacrifice and the commemoration, between the body offered to God and the sacred signs; and to show that the bread and wine are only sacred signs of the body and blood once offered for the sins of the world, and that, in partaking of those elements, we only commemorate the sacrifice, but do not offer it again to God. This will bring us into direct opposition to the distinguishing doctrines of the Papal apostasy, the sacrifice of the mass, and the transubstantiation of the elements.

Romanists maintain that several things, not observed in Protestant churches, are indispensable to the celebration

of the Eucharist. They say, that these several observances have been preserved by unbroken tradition from the time of the apostles. In the Douay Bible (1635), in the annotation to 1' Cor. xi. 34, the deficiencies of "Calvin's supper and communion" are thus specified :—"The apostles delivered unto the Church to take the Sacrament only fasting," "to consecrate by the words and sign of the cross," "to keep a memory or invocation of saints in this Sacrament," "that there should be special prayers for the dead," "that water should be mixed with the wine." For omitting these things, Protestants are, in the note, charged with having "quite destroyed both the name, substance, and all good accidents of Christ's principal Sacrament."

The Catholic annotator says :—"The apostles delivered these things to the Church." If they did, how is it that St. Paul, in repeating what he had "delivered" to the Corinthians, says nothing about them? Of fasting before the Lord's Supper we find nothing in Scripture, but we know that the apostles ate the passover previously to the institution. Of the sign of the cross we find no earlier intimation than in the middle of the fourth century, in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in Basil, Chrysostom, and Augustine. The memorial and invocation of saints are first discerned in the commemorations of martyrs, when their acts were read, their eulogies pronounced, and the Eucharist celebrated at their graves. Certainly, Protestants keep no such festivals, nor Catholics either, in the same manner as the festivals in honour of Polycarp, Cyprian, and other martyrs, were originally celebrated. Of the prayers for the dead we shall have occasion to speak in the succeeding Lecture. Of the mixing of water with the wine, and of the use of unleavened bread, which Catholics also insist upon, we have spoken already.

## LECTURE XII.

### THE LORD'S SUPPER—A COMMEMORATION OF THE SACRIFICIAL DEATH OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

“For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.”—1 *Cor.* xi. 26.

HAVING in the two preceding Lectures considered the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the primitive mode of celebrating it, I now propose to ascertain the object for which it was instituted, and appointed a perpetual ordinance of the Christian church. The doctrine I defend may be thus defined: The Lord's Supper is the commemoration, by appropriate emblems, of the sacrificial death of the Lord Jesus Christ. The proof of this doctrine must depend upon the evidence of these two propositions:—

1. The Lord's Supper is not a repetition of the sacrifice for sin, but a commemoration of that sacrifice which Jesus Christ once offered for the sins of all.

2. It is a commemoration to be observed by the use of appropriate emblems, which Christ himself has appointed.

In a preceding Lecture I have endeavoured to show, in opposition to the opinions of “the Society of Friends,” that the Lord's Supper is a perpetual ordinance of the Christian church; and also, in opposition to some other Christians, that it is not a seal to the communicants of

their personal interest in the covenant of grace. Referring those, who may think, that there is not in this and the succeeding Lecture a complete analysis of all the various opinions which claim attention, to the Lecture on the Perpetuity and Design of the Sacraments, I have now to consider the two great errors of the Romish Church—the sacrifice of the mass, and the transubstantiation of the elements. In considering the institution of the service, I had to notice, on several occasions, both these errors, and in proceeding with the subject, I have to request that what has been already said on these two points be connected with what is about to be said, to complete the argument. It will also be necessary, in explaining and confirming our views, to notice, to some considerable extent, the equally perilous error of those who deny the truly sacrificial character of the death of Christ; for it is obvious that, if the death of Christ was not a sacrifice for sin, the emblems of its commemoration, as they are commonly interpreted, are very far from being appropriate. One object, therefore, will be to show that the emblems are sacrificial in all their references, and, therefore, if they are appropriate, the death of Christ is sacrificial as a reality and a truth. It is in reality what the emblems are in figure, or representation.

Theological writers commonly notice four different theories of this Sacrament,—that of the Romish Church, that of the Lutherans, that of Zwingli, and that of Calvin.

The theory of the Romish Church is, that the Eucharist is a real and true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead. As a propitiatory sacrifice must have some real worth, must be something better than the blood of bulls and goats, which cannot take away sin, the offering of the priest in the sacramental service must be something more valuable than bread and wine. It is therefore affirmed, that the bread and wine do actually, by



the consecration of the priest with a good intention, become the true body and blood of Christ; or rather, that each element, as the bread alone, becomes the true and complete person, body and soul, human and divine nature, of the Lord Jesus Christ. The priest thus obtains the materials of a true and most worthy sacrifice, which he offers to God, and thus repeats the great sacrifice of the cross. The elements being thus made truly and really the body and blood of Christ, associated with his divinity, and so constituting his whole person, are elevated before the people as the proper object of their adoration. After the priest has offered the propitiatory sacrifice to God, and so made expiation for sin, the communicant is allowed to receive in his mouth the consecrated elements, as the sign of the oblation being accepted for him; and thus he really and truly eats the very body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. The body of Christ being thus received, it is the sacramental medium of imparting the grace of the confirmation and nourishment of the divine life, which has been excited by the regenerating power of baptism. Yet the virtue of the sacrifice, as an expiation for sin, does not require the participation of the elements; for the cup is refused to the laity, and masses are said, that is, the offering is presented upon the altar, for the sins of the absent, and even of the dead.

The doctrine of the Lutheran Church is, that the body and blood of Christ are really and truly present in or with the bread and wine after the consecration, and are, therefore, verily and literally received and eaten by the communicants. The bread and wine are not changed, but remain after the consecration, having the body of Christ incorporated with them. The Lutherans do not regard the body and blood of Christ, as offered in the sacrament, a propitiatory sacrifice, but represent the benefit to consist in the eating of the flesh of Christ and drinking of his blood. While this doctrine of consub-

stantiation is not chargeable with the gross inconsistencies and lamentable abuses of the Romish Church, and seems to have been retained from a regard to the supposed literal truth of the declaration—"this is my body," and "this is my blood," it does not come up to the literal sense of our Lord's words, which are, not here is my body—or, with this bread is my body; but, "this is my body,"—this substance, appearing like bread, is my body. As, therefore, the Lutheran doctrine cannot claim in its support even the literal signification of our Lord's words, there is no occasion to refute it at length; for the arguments adduced in confutation of transubstantiation for the most part apply to consubstantiation also.

It should, however, be observed, that many Lutheran divines are content with maintaining the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine on the altar, without asserting that it is actually eaten by the communicants; and that many reputed Catholics, who wrote previously to the decision of the council of Trent, have maintained a doctrine of the real presence nearly resembling that of the Lutheran Church.

The doctrine of Zwingle, the true founder of the reformed churches, is, that the bread and wine are only emblems of the body and blood of Christ; that, consequently, there is no real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament; and that the benefit is produced by the truth, presented to the mind in the affecting and appropriate emblems, exciting religious emotions in the truly worthy communicant, and strengthening virtuous resolutions. With this emblematical representation is also associated the idea of a religious commemoration of the death of Christ, and also of the presence of Christ by the influence of his Holy Spirit.

The fourth opinion is that of Calvin. As I do not see any essential or important difference between it and the preceding (however solicitous that illustrious reformer

may have been to avoid the appearance of agreement in what appeared to the Lutherans a depreciation of the sacrament), I prefer giving an abstract of his doctrine in the words of some divine who distinguished it from that of Zwingle and Carlostadt. It is thus represented by Dr. Hill in his "Theological Lectures," and the representation is spoken of as correct by Mr. Watson in his "Theological Institutes," both Dr. Hill and Mr. Watson greatly preferring it to the doctrine of Zwingle, which they regard as defective, and in some degree depriving the ordinance of its sacramental character:—"He (Calvin) thought that the system of Zwinglius did not come up to the force of the expressions used in Scripture; and, although he did not approve of the manner in which the Lutherans explain these expressions, it appeared to him that there was a sense in which the full significance of them might be preserved, and a great part of the Lutheran language might continue to be used. As he agreed with Zwinglius in thinking that the bread and wine were the signs of the body and blood of Christ, which were not locally present, he renounced both transubstantiation and consubstantiation. He agreed further with Zwinglius in thinking that the use of these signs, being a memorial of the sacrifice once offered on the cross, was intended to produce a moral effect. But he taught, that to all who remember the death of the Saviour in a proper manner, Christ is, by the use of these signs, spiritually present,—present to their minds; and he considered this spiritual presence as giving a significancy, that goes far beyond the Socinian sense, to these words of Paul: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' It is not the blessing pronounced which makes any change upon the cup; but to all who join with becoming affection in the thanksgiving then uttered in the name of the congregation, Christ is spir-

itually present, so that they may emphatically be said to partake of his body and blood; because his body and blood, being spiritually present, convey the same nourishment to their souls, the same quickening to the spiritual life, as bread and wine do to the natural life. Hence Calvin was led to connect the discourse in John vi. with the Lord's Supper; not in that literal sense which is agreeable to Popish and Lutheran ideas, as if the body of Christ was really eaten, and his blood really drunk, by any; but in a sense agreeable to the expression of our Lord in the conclusion of that discourse: 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.' That is, when I say to you, 'Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him, he shall live by me, for my flesh is meat indeed,' you are to understand these words not in a literal, but in a spiritual sense. The spiritual sense adopted by the Socinians is barely this, that the doctrine of Christ is the food of the soul, by cherishing a life of virtue here, and the hope of a glorious life hereafter. The Calvinists think, that into the full meaning of the figure used in these words, there enter, not merely the exhortations and instructions which a belief of the Gospel affords, but also that union between Christ and his people which is the consequence of faith, and that communication of grace and strength by which they are quickened in well doing, and prepared for the discharge of every duty.

"According to this system, the full benefit of the Lord's Supper is peculiar to those who partake worthily. For while all who eat the bread and drink the wine, may be said to show the Lord's death, and may also receive some devout impressions, they only, to whom Jesus is spiritually present, share in that spiritual nourishment, which arises from partaking of his body and blood. According to this system, eating and drinking unworthily has a further sense than enters into the Socinian system; and it becomes the



duty of every Christian to examine himself, not only with regard to his knowledge, but also with regard to his general conduct, before he eats of that bread, and drinks of that cup. It becomes also the duty of those who have the inspection of Christian societies, to exclude from this ordinance persons of whom there is every reason to believe that they are strangers to the sentiments which it presupposes, and without which none are prepared for holding that communion with Jesus, which it implies."

Notwithstanding some obscure expressions of Calvin, corresponding with those employed by many writers of the English Church, the difference between his doctrine and that of Zwingle appears to me rather verbal than real, even according to the representation of those writers who consider the latter to be very defective and unsacramental. Calvin agreed with Zwingle in renouncing the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation. He used the very argument of Zwingle and Carlostadt, that the body of Christ is in heaven, and cannot be at the same time in the sacrament. He thought, with Zwingle, that the memorials of the propitiary sacrifice, once offered upon the cross, are intended to produce a spiritual effect upon the worthy communicant, through the truth commemorated. What more did Calvin teach, in order to supply the important deficiencies of Zwingle's doctrine? According to Dr. Hill and Mr. Watson, "He also taught, that to all who remember the death of Christ in a proper manner, Christ by the use of these signs is spiritually present."

We can extract from this statement nothing intelligible which Zwingle, or any other Christian, would have denied. What could Calvin or Dr. Hill mean by Christ being *spiritually* present, but being present to the mind of the communicant, as the object of believing and adoring contemplation? It is very true that Calvin, like Bishop Jewel, Jeremy Taylor, Cosin, and many other English divines, speaks of a real presence which is not corporeal,

and says that a spiritual presence may be as real as a corporeal presence.\* If it be spoken of a spirit, this is true; but the controversy refers exclusively to the body of Christ. The real presence of a body is surely a bodily or corporeal presence. What could Calvin desire in a spiritual presence more than Zwingli enjoyed in the devout communion with Christ in the sacrament? Zwingli may have expressed himself incautiously, in denying every sense of the presence of Christ; as Calvin may have expressed himself obscurely, in appearing to make more of the spiritual presence than the Swiss reformer. But Calvin's doctrine of the *spiritual presence of a body* conveys no intelligible distinction between him and Zwingli, who held the figurative presence of Christ's body by the representation of its appropriate emblems.

That Calvin sometimes expressed himself in a manner, which appears much more in accordance with the opinion of the Lutherans than with that of Zwingli, I do not deny. By some Lutherans he has been represented as "differing very little from the doctrine of their church:" while Bos-suet asserts that "the opinions of Calvin concerning the Eucharist were almost the same as those of the Catholics." Mosheim thus distinguishes:† "Zwingli supposed only a symbolical or figurative presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist; Calvin acknowledged a real though spiritual presence of Christ in this sacrament.

\* See Appendix A.

† Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. Cent. xvi. Sec. iii. Part 2, ch. 2. Of Calvin's words, those which most nearly resemble the Catholic teaching, so far as I know, are . —"Concludo realiter (ut vulgo loquuntur), hoc est vere, nobis in cœna dari Christi corpus, ut sit animis nostris in cibum salutare."—Comm. in 1 Cor. xi. 24. This is the doctrine of the Church catechism, "The body and blood of Christ which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Calvin had just before defined the body of Christ to be the very body in which he suffered and rose again, "Corpus ipsum in quo passus est ac resurrexit." In his treatise on the Lord's Supper, Calvin says, "Christ in the supper gives us the *true and proper substance* of his body and blood," "Christum nobis in cœna veram propriamque corporis et sanguinis sui sub-

Calvin regarded the saying of our Lord, 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me,' as referring directly to the Lord's Supper. According to his exposition, 'All believers in partaking of the sacrament are united to the person of Christ, and being thus incorporated with him, derive spiritual life from their participation of his quickening power.' " Mosheim says further :—" Zwingle asserted, that all Christians, without distinction, regenerate or unregenerate, could be partakers of the body and blood of Christ; Calvin confined the privilege to the pious and regenerate alone." But even here we cannot see anything more than a verbal distinction. Zwingle would not allow that unregenerate men had spiritual communion with Christ in the sacrament; Calvin could not have denied that unregenerate men could eat the bread and drink the wine, which were emblems of the body and blood of Christ.

If, however, Calvin's expressions are to be strictly interpreted, so as to support a real difference between him and Zwingle, I see but one interpretation which is possible, and that is so unlike the general opinions of Calvin, and opposed to the words cited in a preceding note, that it cannot be attributed to him. He speaks so decidedly against the presence in the sacrament of that body of Christ which is in heaven, that in no sense can a real presence of that body have been held by him. But he speaks so decidedly of Christ being incorporated in the sacrament, and through the sacrament being incorporated with those who truly and faithfully receive it, that if only those expressions be regarded, he might be understood as if he held the doctrine of some of the fathers, that Christ *stantiam donare*." This seems to justify the assertion of Bossuet, or at least to show that Calvin held a doctrine which may be called the real presence. But as he so often asserted that the presence of Christ was not corporeal, but only spiritual, I still maintain that the substance of a body, if not bodily but only spiritually present, is really not present at all; and therefore that Calvin established no intelligible distinction between his doctrine and that of Zwingle.

Jesus, by some mysterious process, becomes united with the bread and wine of the sacrament, as he is united with no other material substance except the body in which he is incarnate.

There is thus supposed to be a real presence of Christ, as by a repeated embodiment, in the bread and wine, which have to him a relation not unlike that of his flesh and blood. He is thus really, though spiritually, eaten by the faithful, but not through the medium of his body in which he was crucified. That this was the doctrine of Justin Martyr, of Irenæus, and other ancients, we shall see hereafter ; but I cannot easily allow this to be ascribed to Calvin, as it is not reconcileable with many expressions he has employed respecting the spiritual presence of the body which suffered. But if this were not his doctrine, I am persuaded he held no intelligible difference with the doctrine of those called the Sacramentarians, however decidedly opposed to their representations his language may appear.

Calvin's mode of stating the doctrine produced much contention in the Swiss churches. Suspicions were roused and jealousies excited. Much, probably, ought to be attributed to the perilous position which the great reformer occupied, and to his anxious desire to conciliate the Lutherans. Mosheim justly observes:—"The truth is, that the obscurity and inconsistency with which the great man expressed himself upon this subject, render it extremely difficult to give any clear and accurate account of his doctrine."

Mr. Watson observes:—"With this view (the Calvinistic) the doctrine of the Church of England seems mainly to agree, except that we may perhaps perceive in her services a few expressions somewhat favourable to the views of Luther and Melancthon, whose authority had great weight with Archbishop Cranmer." (*Institutes*, vol. xii. p. 295.) We firmly believe that Zwingli and Calvin,



Carlostadt and Beza, would agree with every word in the following extract from Cranmer's Treatise on the Sacrament:—"The true eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ is with a constant and lively faith and belief, that he gave his body and shed his blood on the cross for us, and that he does so join and incorporate himself to us, that he is our head, and we his members. And herein stands the whole effect and strength of this sacrament. And this faith God works inwardly in our hearts by his Holy Spirit, and confirms the same outwardly to our ears by the hearing of the word, and to our other senses by the eating and drinking of the sacramental bread and wine in his holy Supper."

Dr. Hill, in the above extract from his "Theological Lectures," says that "Calvin considered the spiritual presence as giving a significancy, that goes far beyond the Socinian sense, to the words of the sacrament." But is not the difference between Calvin and the old Socinians to be found rather in their different opinions of the things commemorated, producing great diversity in their views of the commemoration? Both parties regarded the sacrament as the memorial of the death of Jesus; but in accordance with their respective systems of theology, they assigned different significations to the emblems. Calvin commemorated the death of a sacrifice; the Socinians, the death of a reformer and martyr. According to the theology of Calvin, the eating of the bread and the drinking of the wine are the symbolical emblems of our sustaining and nourishing the spiritual life, by the reception of the covenant blessings, which were procured by the offering of the body and blood of Christ. According to the doctrine of the Socinians, these signs are the expression of our grateful remembrance of him, who attested the truth of his Gospel by the shedding of his blood. But it is obvious that such a difference respects the nature of the things commemorated, rather than the emblematical char-

acter of the commemoration. It belongs to the doctrine, not to the sacrament; and the parties interpret the emblems differently, because they believe different doctrines. Those who, agreeing with Calvin, believe that the death of Christ was a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, believe also that the emblems of the sacrament are of a sacrificial character, and that they excite in the hearts of the faithful devout and holy sentiments, appropriate to the solemn truths which they represent. They think also that the emblems are inappropriate to any other view of the death of Christ; and that, therefore, this sacrament is a standing memorial in the church of the one great propitiatory sacrifice offered by our Lord, when he died on the cross. Those who, with the Socinians, disbelieve the doctrine of the atonement, reject this clear testimony of the sacrament, and find another interpretation of its expressive emblems. In expounding the design of the Lord's Supper, we shall have to defend the doctrine of the propitiatory sacrifice of the Lord Jesus, in order to illustrate our interpretation of these sacred signs; but in doing so, our controversy with the Socinians will be only indirect in reference to the Sacrament, though direct as to the important truth represented.\*

Mr. Watson, in defending the opinion of Calvin in opposition to that of Zwingle, says of the Lord's Supper:—"It is more than a commemorative rite; in other words, it is a commemorative sign and seal of the covenant of our redemption."† In a previous lecture, I have endeavoured to show that the sacraments are not seals of the evangelical covenant, nor sealing ordinances, attesting the personal interest of those who worthily receive them in the blessings of that covenant. As, in doing so, I have op-

\* As I do not like to call any persons by a term they disclaim, the reader will understand by the word Socinians, the old Polish Brethren, not modern Unitarians.

† Theological Institutes, in Works, vol. xii. p. 295.

posed the formularies and creeds of most churches and denominations, I am happy to find that many of the ablest divines of those churches, although in apparent opposition to their own formularies, disavow the doctrine of sealing ordinances, precisely to the same extent as I have done. As remarkable instances, I may cite two of whom death has recently deprived us, perhaps the most distinguished ornaments of the churches to which they respectively belonged—the Reverend Edward Bickersteth and Dr. Chalmers. In his treatise on the Lord's Supper, Mr. Bickersteth says (p. 48.) :—"It is sometimes called the seal of the covenant; but this is not a scriptural, and it does not appear to the author that it is a proper name. The idea is taken from Abraham's circumcision being a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had being uncircumcised; but this by no means implies that the Lord's Supper may justly be called a seal of the covenant. In fact, an unsealed covenant is of no validity. The new covenant was ratified and confirmed by the blood of Christ." Dr. Chalmers says, in a letter to a friend :—"I am more inclined to regard the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a memorial than as a pledge; that is to say, a pledge on the part of God that he will bestow spiritual blessings. If it be viewed as a pledge, I would regard it rather as a pledge on behalf of man, that he will render spiritual services. It is by his voluntary act that the commemoration is performed, and the public profession is made. This I hold tantamount to a promise on his part that he will be the Lord's. It is an act of dedication, by which he stands pledged to give up his future life to the will of him who is the great Master of the ordinance."\* These extracts convey the precise sentiments which I have already maintained; and if, by adopting them, I depart from the theory of the sacraments, which is found in the

\* *Memoirs by Dr. Hanna*, vol. ii. p. 530. To these high authorities may be added the judicious commentator, Scott.

formularies of most reformed churches, I do so after the manner of these two honoured men, who were both most cordially attached to the great doctrines of the Calvinistic theology, and who saw clearly that the evangelical covenant was sealed and sure to every man immediately on his believing in Christ for salvation.

Having noticed these several theories, I have now in opposition, on the one hand, to the old Socinians, who maintained that there was nothing sacrificial in the emblems of the Lord's Supper,—and, on the other, to the Romanists, who assert, that it is a true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead, to maintain that the Lord's Supper, although not a propitiatory sacrifice itself, is an appropriate emblem of the propitiatory sacrifice which Jesus Christ once offered upon the cross for the sins of the whole world.

But what is a propitiatory sacrifice? or what do we mean when we say, that the death of Christ was a propitiation for the sins of the world? This is one of the most important inquiries, if not the most important, of all in the wide range of evangelical theology. The doctrine of the propitiation of Christ is often so misunderstood by those who oppose it, and occasionally so misrepresented by those who defend it, that I am very solicitous to speak clearly, and to be correctly understood, in all I say upon this most momentous subject. I cannot but entertain the hopeful persuasion that, if the sense in which moderate men of Calvinistic opinions hold this doctrine, were clearly explained and candidly examined, many considerate persons, who now reject it, would cordially receive it, not only as scriptural, but as the only reasonable means of reconciling the universal convictions of men with the certain testimonies of the word of God.

It may be observed, that I use the term *propitiation* rather than *expiation*. I do so, not because I have any decided objection to the latter term, but because the



former appears to express the evangelical method of making atonement for sin, both more fully and more precisely than the latter. Some writers upon this subject seem to prefer the former term, others the latter, while many employ both, and apparently with the same signification. I prefer the former, for the following reasons:—

1. Propitiation represents Almighty God looking with complacency upon the sacrifice, and on that account with favour upon the sinner on whose behalf it is offered. But the complacency with which God regarded the death of his Son is, we think, an indispensable principle in every scriptural interpretation of the doctrine of atonement.

2. Propitiation implies that such is the effect of the sacrifice, that God is graciously inclined to forgive the sins of the offender; so that forgiveness is, notwithstanding the sufficiency of the sacrifice, an act of grace and not of justice, although not inconsistent with the strictest claims of justice. In saying the sacrifice inclines God to forgive sins, I do not mean that any sacrifice can act upon the unchangeable God so as to make him merciful, or to allay any passion or feeling resembling the anger of man. My meaning is, that all considerations of justice, of authority, of propriety, or of law, which require the punishment of the guilty, are so adjusted by the death of Christ, that God can pardon sin consistently with all his perfections, and that, being in his own nature “The Lord God merciful and gracious,” he is ready to “pardon iniquity, transgression, and sin.”

3. Propitiation suggests the idea of a meritorious sacrifice, deserving and obtaining for its reward the pardon of the sins of those for whom it was presented, and cannot be so interpreted, as to exclude the consideration of the honour and reward of Christ from the grounds of the pardon procured by his death.

4. Propitiation connects the virtue of the sacrifice of Christ with his obedience, perfected in suffering even unto

death ; and does not confine its virtue to his sufferings exclusively, as if his death were piacular only in the sense in which the ancient sacrifices, without any personal obedience, made expiation for sin ; or as if there had been virtue in mere suffering, irrespective of the obedience unto death.

5. Propitiation, or some corresponding word, is the proper version of the terms employed in the New Testament, to designate the true character of the sacrifice of Christ. The words requiring attention are chiefly those cognate with the verb *ιλάομαι* or *ιλάσκω*, signifying to appease, or to make propitious. This verb and its derivatives associate the idea of being pleased, with that of kindness, gentleness, or mildness. We find applied to the sacrifice of Christ, first the verb itself, "That he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people." (*εἰς τὸ ιλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ.*) Heb. ii. 17. The meaning is, to make God propitious to sinners, or willing to pardon their sins.

We have next the noun *ιλασμός*, a propitiation, that which propitiates, or makes favourable. (1 John, ii. 2.) "And he is the propitiation (*ιλασμός*) for our sins," and (1 John, iv. 10), "He sent his Son to be the propitiation (*ιλασμός*) for our sins."

We have further the adjective *ιλαστήριον*, used substantively by an ellipsis of some noun, as *θῦμα*, a sacrifice, and denoting a sacrifice which propitiates, or makes favourable, or else, as words with the termination *ηριον* often denote the place of the action, denoting the place of propitiation by the ellipsis of *ἐπίθεμα* or *πῶμα*, the propitiatory covering, that is, the mercy-seat over the golden altar, on which God appeared propitious in the glory of the Shechinah. In this sense the word is used, Heb. ix. 5,—the cherubim of glory overshadowing the propitiatory (*ιλαστήριον*) or mercy-seat. {The word is thus used in

Rom. iii. 25:—"Whom God has set forth to be a propitiation" (ἱλαστήριον), a propitiatory sacrifice for which, or a propitiatory seat on which, God is favourable to the sinner.

Nearly the same idea is suggested by the verb καταλλάσσω, to commute, and to reconcile, in the passages, "We were reconciled (κατηλλάγημεν) to God through the death of his Son." Rom. v. 10. "For all things are of God, who hath reconciled (καταλλάξαντος) us to himself, and given to us the ministry of reconciliation (τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς); so that God was in Christ reconciling (καταλλάσσων) the world to himself, not accounting their trespasses unto them, and placing in us the word of reconciliation," (τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς.) 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. In the same sense we have the noun (Rom. v. 11,) "through whom we have received the atonement," or reconciliation—(καταλλαγήν). The noun is explained in Hesychius (εἰρήνη, φιλία), peace, friendship; and it may be well rendered in the above passages by the word pacification.

With this view of propitiation, the reader will readily perceive the agreement of those passages which describe the sacrifice of Christ as the object of Divine complacency, or as well pleasing in the sight of God. "As Christ also hath loved us, and given himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour." Eph. v. 2. Dr. Pye Smith, in his "Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ," thus expounds his views of the difference between expiation and propitiation—(p. 138):—"Expiation denotes the doing of something, which shall furnish just ground or reason in a system of judicial administration for pardoning a convicted offender. Propitiation, anything which shall have the property of disposing, inclining, or causing the judicial authority to admit the expiation, *i. e.*, to assent to it as a valid reason for pardoning the offender." With this signification we have only one objection to the use of two words. They

seem to intimate a greater distinction than really exists. Only "a just ground or reason for pardoning a convicted offender" can "have the property of disposing, inclining, or causing the judicial authority of God to admit the expiation." All other reasons are here inadmissible. God is not made merciful, but being merciful he is disposed or inclined to show mercy, or to pardon sin, because "a just ground or reason for pardoning it" is supplied by the sacrifice of Christ. Dr. Smith further observes, "that the same thing may be both a propitiation and an expiation, *i. e.*, may be both a valid reason for pardoning and a determining motive." We think that, with the righteous God, the valid reason is the determining motive; and that these two things cannot be, and ought not to be, distinguished. Dr. Smith says, in illustration of the difference, "We can conceive cases in which an expiation, good and reasonable in its kind, might be offered, and yet a wise and good government might not be willing to accept it, *i. e.*, might not be propitious to the offender." I confess, even with my honoured tutor's clear definitions to assist me, I cannot conceive any such case in reference to the government of God. He defines expiation, "a valid reason for pardoning." I cannot conceive of "a valid reason for pardoning" an offender being offered to God, without his becoming propitious or favourably inclined to pardon. The valid reason for pardoning is the propitiation for sin. It will be seen, that the difference between myself and this able and venerated defender of evangelical truth is only verbal, as all that he means by expiation I include in propitiation. But when I see such a man induced by the use of two words to make a difference where none exists, I feel it important, for the sake of clearness and precision, to confine myself to the one word which expresses the thought completely, and which corresponds exactly with the original words of the New Testament, denoting propitiation, pacification, reconciliation, or atone-



ment. Propitiation is the valid reason for pardoning sin—that which induces God to appear propitious to sinners. Expiation, if distinguished from it, might be understood to mean the absolute compensation for sin—the removal of guilt without an act of pardon. I need not say that the pardon of sin is procured, not superseded, by the sacrificial death of Christ. The doctrine represented in the symbolic rites of the Lord's Supper, is that the death of Christ is a propitiation for sin—a just, valid, and sufficient reason for its pardon, and that the sacrament itself is not a sacrifice, but only a commemoration of the one great and only sacrifice for all sin. In illustrating this doctrine, I solicit attention to four propositions:—

1. The sufferings and death of Christ were sacrificial, that is, they were endured on account of others, and were designed to avert the punishment of their sins. This may be called the substitution.

2. There was, in the sacrificial death of Christ, something on which God looked with complacency, as honourable to his holy law and righteous government. This is properly the propitiation.

3. That on which God looked with complacency was meritorious or deserving a reward, and the reward granted to Jesus for his sacrifice was the remission of the sins of all who believe on him. This may be called the atonement.

4. The reward conferred upon our Lord Jesus, by the remission of the sins of his people, is not excessive, nor disproportionate to the merit of his sacrificial death; so that adequate compensation has been made to the claims of divine justice. This is the satisfaction.

These four particulars, the substitution, the propitiation, the atonement, and the satisfaction, are not to be distinguished as if they were really separate. They are rather different aspects of the same great work, which may be comprehensively called the propitiatory sacrifice.

1. The sufferings and death of Christ were sacrificial, that is, were endured on account of the sins of others, and were designed to avert the punishment of those sins.

Death inflicted on account of the sins of another may be called sacrificial, as death inflicted on account of the sins of the individual is punishment. It is true, that the term, sacrifice, is sometimes applied to an animal dedicated to God, and put to death in a solemn manner, as the thank-offerings and the paschal lambs were called sacrifices. But with more propriety we confine the term to those victims which were offered on account of sin, as the burnt-offerings, the trespass-offerings, and the sin-offerings of the Levitical dispensation.

That such sacrifices were acceptable to God, can be explained only upon the supposition that they were originally of divine appointment. From the earliest accounts of the patriarchal dispensation down to the coming of Christ, we find the continual demand of sacrifices for sin; so that it may be said of that long period, "Without the shedding of blood there was no remission." The fact itself is of great importance, and becomes still greater when it is considered in connexion with the cessation of all such sacrifices, when Christ Jesus by one offering for ever perfected them who are sanctified. The commentary on this divine institution of the ancient religions, and especially of the Mosaic, is supplied by many passages of the New Testament. One may be sufficient to show the general spirit with which the inspired writers of the Christian faith refer to the sacrifices of the ancient dispensation, and their termination in Christ:—

"For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect. For then, would they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins. But

in those sacrifices there is a remembrance again made of sins every year. For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body has thou prepared me: in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God. Above, when he said, Sacrifice and offering and burnt-offerings and offering for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein, which are offered by the law; then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first that he may establish the second. By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest standeth daily ministering, and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. x. 1—14.)

This clear exposition of the nature and design of the numerous sacrifices of the Jewish ritual, and peremptory assertion of their reference to the one perfect sacrifice of Christ, afford clear and conclusive evidence of the first proposition. That the Jewish sacrifices were originally appointed by God, and were offered under the authority of his law, is plainly and unequivocally taught in the Old Testament; and if it cannot be as distinctly proved, that patriarchal sacrifices originated in the same divine appointment, their favourable acceptance by God is equally incontrovertible. Let it be observed, that we are at present illustrating only the first proposition, which is, that the sufferings and death of Christ were endured on account of the sins of others, and therefore, in connecting those

early sacrifices with the death of Christ, we have, in so far as this proposition is concerned, only to bring them within the limitation stated—that they were offered for the sins of others. Those ancient victims, although offered for sin, could not have been themselves sinful; and of Christ Jesus it is said, “For such a high-priest was proper for us, holy, blameless, undefiled, separate from sinners, who had no daily need, like those high-priests, to offer sacrifices first for his own sins.” To adduce the evidence that the ancient sacrifices, both patriarchal and Mosaic, were intended and believed in some way to avert the punishment of sin, would be to cite almost every sacrifice, or sacrificial reference, of the Old Testament. One illustration may suffice:—“The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends; for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath. Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept; lest I deal with you after your folly, in that ye have not spoken of me the thing which is right.” Job xlii. 7, 8. This passage needs no critical exposition. Eliphaz and his friends were commanded to offer a sacrifice, because they had not done right, and “*lest God should deal with them after their folly.*” The punishment of their sin was to be averted by this offering of the prescribed sacrifice, and until it was offered, they bore their own sins or were accounted guilty before God.

As clear and unambiguous is the sacrificial language of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Comparing the nature and intention of ancient sacrifices with the sacrifice of Christ, the writer declares the death of Christ to have been propitiatory, as they were, but much more efficacious, averting greater penalties, and obtaining greater blessings. Those ancient sacrifices averted some temporal punishment;



this sacrifice averts the curse of everlasting misery. Those “purified the flesh;” this “purges the conscience.” Those were typical of this “greater and more perfect sacrifice.” The writer, speaking of the place of Jewish sacrifices, says, “Which was a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect as pertaining to the conscience. . . But Christ being come, a high-priest of the good things which were coming, by the greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who, through the Eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God? And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new covenant, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance.” (Heb. ix. 9—15.)

Can any reader of this passage, considering the nature and design of the ancient sacrifices to which the writer refers, resist the conviction that the death of Christ was truly sacrificial, that is, was endured on account of our sins, and with the design of averting their punishment?

But this reasoning may be met by two objections, and I can imagine only two, which do not go to the extent of rejecting all scriptural testimony upon this subject. I speak not of rejecting the interpretation or authority of any single text (for I would not represent so important a doctrine as resting upon a minute criticism, or upon one or two disputed words), but of rejecting the general

testimony and prevalent doctrine of both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

The two objections I have to notice are,—first, that the sacrificial religion, which is undoubtedly taught in some parts of the Old Testament, is not the religion of Jesus Christ, and ought to be regarded rather as opposed to the pure doctrines of the New Testament than as accredited by it; and, secondly, that the sacrificial language of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be considered, rather as an accommodation to the spirit of Judaism, than as a full exposition of the doctrine of Christ.

As to the first objection, that the sacrificial religion, which is undoubtedly taught in some parts of the Old Testament, is not the religion of Jesus Christ, as accredited by the New Testament, a very moderate amount of candid attention will be quite sufficient to show its insufficiency, as well as inconsistency with the first principles of the Christian faith. I am not now reasoning with avowed Infidels, nor yet with those persons who, professing to be Christians, pay little deference to the literal signification of either Testament. Our argument is submitted to that class of Unitarians, who profess no such lofty spiritualism, but are content with the general testimony of a Divine revelation supported by credible evidence. That Judaism was a Divine religion, is an admission on their part quite sufficient for our purpose. We need not, in this argument, contend for the verbal inspiration of the Old Testament, or the perfect accuracy of minute points, or even the authenticity of every book, or the divinity of every historical statement. We require no more than the admission of one of the ablest writers of the Unitarian party—a critic who has done great service to the cause of Christianity by his most able, learned, and lucid defence of the authenticity of the four Gospels, but who, on the other hand, strenuously opposes the doctrine of the propitiatory death of Christ, and zealously labours to invalidate the

evidence in its favour, which is derived from the sacrificial rites of the Old Testament.

Andrews Norton, the late distinguished Professor of Sacred History in Harvard University, may well be regarded as the ablest literary representative of that class of Unitarians, who adhere firmly to the historical evidence and literal truth of the New Testament. He states his view of the connexion between Christianity and Judaism in these words :—"Such is the connexion between Christianity and the Jewish religion, that the Divine origin of the former implies the Divine origin of the latter. Christianity, if I may so speak, has made itself responsible for the fact, that the Jewish religion, like itself, proceeded immediately from God. But Christianity has not made itself responsible for the genuineness, the authenticity, or the moral and religious teachings of that collection of books which constitutes the Old Testament." (Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 412.) Again he says, "The belief that Moses was an inspired messenger from God, follows from our belief in the Divine origin of Christianity." (p. 412.) He, however, denies the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and considers doubtful much of the history of the Old Testament. In these statements, I imagine, Professor Norton may be considered as representing the opinions of a considerable portion of the more moderate Unitarians in America, and of some in England. At all events, if they will not acknowledge him as representing their opinions, they will admit his concession respecting the Divine legation of Moses.

Although I believe that Christianity is responsible for the authenticity of the Jewish Scriptures, as well as for the divinity of the Jewish religion, yet, so far as this argument is concerned, I need to assume no more than Professor Norton willingly concedes—the Divine origin of Judaism, or the Divine legation of Moses. In his Dissertation, there is nothing more surprising than that he

should contend for the Divine origin of the Jewish religion, as established by the sanction of Christianity, and yet repudiate the Jewish sacrifices as unauthorized, and of human invention. Little is it to his purpose to adopt the reasoning of De Wette, and to contend that the Levitical influence gradually corrupted the more ancient and simple ritual of the Jews, as appears in its greater predominance in the books of Chronicles as compared with the earlier books of Samuel and Kings. In the earlier books the prophets act the more conspicuous part afterwards assumed by the priests. Sacrifices appear as frequently in Samuel as in the Chronicles; and prophets offered them with as much solemnity as priests. What do we know of Judaism but as a religion of sacrifices? Let the Pentateuch have been composed as recently as Norton, or De Wette, whose theory he adopts, may choose to represent it (be it if they please the forgery of the priests in the time of the Hebrew kings), wherever we find the Jewish religion, it is a ritual of sacrifices and offerings. Sacrificial services, altars, and priests, are so intimately associated with Judaism, so closely wrought into its whole texture, that we cannot separate them without utterly destroying its form and substance. By that law "almost all things were purified with blood," and "without the shedding of blood there was no remission." I cite no particular texts, because the divinity of the Hebrew text is not conceded; but I appeal to the general character and elementary principles of the Jewish religion. What was Judaism without its ritual? And what was its ritual, however far backward we trace it, but a liturgy of sacrifices? What was its temple but a place constructed purposely for sacrificing? What was its law but a code of enactments sanctioned by sacrifices? What were its priests but sacrificers? What were its prophets, who, according to Norton, opposed the priestly doctrine, but teachers who offered sacrifices, even when they solemnly denounced the abuse of that distinguishing rite



of their religion? Judaism was unquestionably a sacrificial religion when it was sanctioned by our blessed Lord, and every attempt to find a time, when its primitive simplicity was uncorrupted by sacrifice, has utterly failed. We can find no semblance of Judaism divested of sacrifices, unless it be under the curse of abiding many days without a priest and without a sacrifice.\*

Professor Norton, who, though he contends for the Divine legation of Moses, denies that he was the author of the Pentateuch, or of the sacrificial ritual which it contains, produces several citations from the prophets in which, as he says, "they speak disparagingly of sacrifices." He endeavours to show that there was a purer faith, which the prophets retained, amidst the growing superstitions of a race zealously attached to their sacrificial rites. Let us glance at these citations; for certainly, if the prophets can be shown to have been opposed to the ritual of the Pentateuch, our faith in the Divine origin of its sacrifices will suffer a painful revulsion. But what say the prophets? I have no objection to cite them in the version of the learned Professor.† He adduces the prophet Amos, saying—

I hate, I despise your feasts:

I have no delight in your solemn assemblies.

When ye offer me burnt-offerings and flour-offerings, I will not accept them;  
Nor will I look upon the peace-offerings of your fatlings.

Away with the noise of your songs.

I will not listen to your harping.

But let justice flow as water,

And righteousness like a mighty river.

Did ye offer me sacrifices and offerings

In the wilderness, for forty years, O house of Israel?

\* The Essenes are said by Philo to have offered no sacrifices; and in this assertion he is supported by Josephus (Ant. lib. 18, c. 2), who says, they sacrificed not in the temple. Be that as it may, can any one believe that Jesus, who taught daily in the temple, observed the great festivals in Jerusalem, and ate the passover with his disciples, in authenticating Judaism as the Divine basis of Christianity, meant to authenticate the peculiar doctrine of the Essenes?

† Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. ii., note D, section 6.

On these lines the Professor remarks, "Besides the general character of this passage, the concluding question must be particularly remarked. It is equivalent to a strong affirmation, that the Israelites did not offer sacrifices and offerings during the forty years after their leaving Egypt. But this is directly contrary to what is related in the Pentateuch." Most assuredly, if the prophet says that the Israelites offered no sacrifices in the wilderness, he says what is "directly contrary to the Pentateuch." But another interpretation of this passage may be found in perfect accordance with all that is related in the Pentateuch, and happily that interpretation has the sanction of "a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," who, in his defence, spake so calmly and powerfully that "all who sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." Stephen thus adduces the passage: "They made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their own hands. Then God turned and gave them up to worship the host of heaven, as it is written in the book of the prophets, O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them; and I will carry you beyond Babylon." What is the general spirit of this passage, as it is illustrated by the application of the Christian martyr? The prophet denies, not that they offered sacrifices, but that they offered them acceptably to God. "Have ye offered *to me* slain beasts and sacrifices?" As the idolatry of Israel in the wilderness rendered their sacrifices hateful to God, so the worship of Moloch and the god Remphan, the idols of the time of the prophet, made the sacrifices of Israel abomination to the Lord.

The prophets denounced the abuse of sacrifices and the offerings of the hypocrite, who made them the cloak of

his rapacity and injustice, in the same tone of expostulation and rebuke as our Lord condemned the prayers of the Pharisees. The prophet Isaiah supplies the interpretation of similar denunciations, when he says, "He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as though he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol." It is evident from the contrast of these expressions that the profanation of the sacrifices was the object of the prophet's severe rebuke. To sacrifice a lamb was the appropriate rite, to cut off a dog's neck at the altar would have been a profanation. If no sacrifice had been required by God, why should the prophet have thus adduced the direct contrast? If we understand him, as indeed he cannot be very easily misunderstood, to mean that the profanation of a Divine institute is as hateful to God as an avowed act of profanity, the denunciation of the prophet is quite consistent with the representation of both Testaments respecting the Divine institution of Jewish sacrifices.

With this understanding, the following passages, cited by Norton for the purpose of showing that the prophets disapproved of such offerings, are easily reconciled with the Divine origin of sacrifices:—

With what shall I appear before Jehovah,  
 And bow myself before the Most High God?  
 Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings,  
 With calves of a year old?  
 Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams,  
 Or ten thousands of rivers of oil?  
 Shall I give my first-born for my transgression;  
 The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?  
 O man, he has made known to thee what is good;  
 And what doth Jehovah require of thee,  
 But to do justly, and to love mercy,  
 And to walk humbly with thy God?—Micah vi. 6—8.

Of what value are the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord.

I am weary of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts ;  
 And I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.  
 Who hath required this of you, when ye come to appear before me ?  
 When ye trample my courts, bring no vain oblations.—Isa. l. 11—13.

Thus saith Jehovah, God of Hosts, God of Israel,  
 Put away your burnt-offerings, with your sacrifices, and eat the flesh ;  
 For I spake not to your fathers,  
 Nor commanded them, in the day when I brought them out of Egypt,  
 Concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices.—Jer. vii. 21, 22.

I will reprove thee, not for the sake of thy sacrifices,  
 Nor of thy burnt-offerings, which are daily before me.  
 I will take no bullocks from thy stalls,  
 Nor he-goat from thy folds,  
 For all the beasts of the forest are mine,  
 And the cattle on a thousand hills.  
 I know all the birds of the mountains,  
 And the wild beasts of the plains are before me.  
 If I were hungry, I would not tell thee ;  
 For the world is mine, and all that is therein.  
 Do I eat the flesh of bulls  
 Or drink the blood of goats ?  
 Offer to God thanksgiving,  
 And fulfil thy vows to the Most High.—Psa. l. 8—14.

I cite these passages at length, and in the translation of Professor Norton, to afford a fair view of his argument against the Divine appointment of sacrifices. Can these Scriptures, understood in connexion with the acknowledged sacrificial rites of the Jews, be fairly expounded, as if they meant anything more than that those vain oblations, the offerings of wickedness, like all sacred rites when profaned by hypocrisy, are not acceptable to the most holy God ?

Were there any doubt respecting the correct interpretation of these passages, there are two of similar import which supply the most conclusive evidence in determining the question. The Psalmist says :—

Thou desirest not sacrifice : else would I give it ;  
 Thou dost not delight in burnt-offerings.  
 The sacrifice which God loves is a broken spirit ;  
 A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.



These words exactly correspond with the passages previously cited from Norton, and must be interpreted consistently with them. Do they teach us that no sacrifices were acceptable to God, that the sacrifices of the righteous were as unauthorized as the sacrifices of the wicked, that the sacrifice of Abel was not more pleasing to God than the offering of Cain? The Psalmist immediately adds:—

Do good to Zion according to thy mercy.  
Build up the walls of Jerusalem.  
Then wilt thou be pleased with right sacrifices,  
With whole burnt-offerings;  
Then shall bullocks be offered upon thine altar.—Psa. li. 19.

In immediate connexion with one of the most forcible representations of the insufficiency of sacrifices to occupy the place of a broken and contrite heart, we have here the most decided assertion that right sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings were truly acceptable to God. How does Professor Norton explain these two verses in harmony with his interpretation of the preceding? Instead of troubling himself with any interpretation, he pleasantly cuts the knot by saying, “*There seems little doubt* that these two verses are an addition by a later writer, after the captivity.” But how does he arrive at this “*seeming little doubt*” of the genuineness of these two verses, which occupy a place in all our copies? They are deficient in no external evidence. His reason is thus assigned: “They stand in direct opposition to what has just been said by the original author.” (p. 472.) The “direct opposition” is to be attributed to nothing else than his assumed interpretation of the preceding verses. With as good reason might I reject with “*little doubt*” the preceding, as not being in accordance with the subsequent verses, as all parties interpret the latter. But I disturb the position of neither with my gratuitous doubtings. Both may be interpreted very consistently; but even if they could not, neither is to be thus hastily ejected, “with

little doubt," from the sacred text, because it may not correspond with his or my previously formed opinions.

Another passage of similar import is thus cited—

In sacrifice and oblation thou hast no pleasure ;  
Mine ears thou hast opened ;  
Burnt-offering and sin-offering thou dost not desire ;  
Therefore, I said, Lo, I come,  
In the scroll of the book it is written of me.—Psa xl. 6, 7.

This passage is quite as forcibly expressed as any which Professor Norton has cited to show the insufficiency of sacrifice to compensate for pure and practical religion. But does it teach that sacrifices were not of Divine appointment? Let us seek the true interpretation in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Above, when he said, Sacrifice and offering and burnt-offerings and offering for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein, which are offered by the law; then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second. By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." (Heb. x. 8—10.) The author of the Epistle evidently understood the passage in a sense, which ill corresponds with the interpretation of the learned Professor. According to the Epistle, God took away the former sacrifices in order to prepare for the greater and more perfect sacrifice of the body of Christ. According to the Professor, God never appointed the former sacrifices, and never ordained the sacrifice of Christ—never "took away the first that he might establish the second." It must be acknowledged that these passages of the prophet, however severely they denounce the conduct of the Jews for making their sacrifices and offerings an excuse for their wickedness, afford no evidence whatever in opposition to the statements I have made, that the Jewish religion was essentially a religion of sacrifices, and that, if Judaism were of Divine authority, its sacrifices must have been of Divine authority

also. In whatever sense, and to whatever extent, Christianity has made itself responsible for the divinity of Judaism, it is equally responsible for the Divine origin of its sacrificial rites.

The other objection refers to the testimony cited from the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is said, the author accommodated his language and reasoning to the prevalent opinions of the later Jews, and took advantage of their sacrificial rites to convince them, by a train of reasoning dependent upon these rites, of the superiority of the Christian religion. His argument, according to this representation, being designed exclusively for the Hebrews, is founded not upon the nature of things, but upon the prejudices of the Jews; that is, not upon truth, but upon prevalent errors. With this objection are often connected some aspersions upon the canonical authority of the Epistle.

Although I have a very decided conviction that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and have no doubt whatever of its canonical authority, I do not require this concession for the purpose of establishing the proposition before us. If the author of this Epistle not only founded his argument upon Jewish errors, but did so to lead the Jews, not to Christian truth, but to a still greater error, (for so the opponents of the doctrine of atonement must consider it,) the Epistle is absolutely worthless, or rather positively delusive. If the doctrine of atonement be a delusion, no one has done more to spread that delusion than the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But even into this consideration I need not enter. The argument is independent of all considerations of the authority of this canonical book.

Although in this Epistle may be found the most clear and full exposition of the connexion between the sacrifices of the former dispensation and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and the most complete argument in defence of the sacri-

ficial character of the death of Christ; yet the general language of the New Testament accurately corresponds with these more formal representations. If this Epistle directly and avowedly defends the doctrine of a sacrifice for sin, other scriptures incidentally refer to it, or clearly assume it as an indubitable article of the Christian faith. To the Greeks, to whom the cross of Christ was foolishness, as well as to the Jews, the sacred writers speak of the death of Christ as the only sacrifice for the sins of the world. If the Epistle to the Hebrews does no more than suggest a theory respecting the connexion between Jewish sacrifices and the death of Christ, that theory may be tried by comparison with the "other scriptures." Let the following passages be compared with the statements of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and their general harmony will prove that the writer of that Epistle maintained the true doctrine of Christ:—"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." (John i. 29.) "The Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many." (Matt. xx. 28.) "In due time Christ died for the ungodly." (Rom. v. 6.) "God commendeth his love to us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more, then, being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life." (Rom. v. 8—10.) "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past." (Rom. iii. 25.) "God hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." (2 Cor. v. 21.) "He gave himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God, of a sweet smelling savour." (Eph. v. 2.) "Ye who sometime were afar off, were made nigh by the blood of Christ." (Eph. ii. 13.) "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the



tree." (1 Pet. ii. 24.) "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." (1 John ii. 2.) "Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." (Rev. v. 9.) These citations may be sufficient, where more may be plentifully adduced if they are required, in order to show the prevalent testimony of Scripture to the sacrificial character of the death of the Lord Jesus. It remains for the candid enquirer to consider, whether they confirm or confute the statements, which we have adduced from the Epistle to the Hebrews, respecting the design of the ancient sacrifices, and their accomplishment in the sacrificial death of our compassionate Redeemer. Let it be observed further, that every book in the New Testament, except the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the two small Epistles of John, that of Jude, and that of Paul to Philemon, contain an assertion or implication of the propitiatory character of the death of Christ.

The only conclusion to which these passages, thus considered in connexion with ancient sacrifices, and the commentary on them in the Epistle to the Hebrews, will lead the candid enquirer, is that the death of Christ was sacrificial, that is, was endured on account of the sins of others, and designed to avert the punishment from the offenders. This is the doctrine of substitution.

2. There was, in the sacrificial death of Christ, something on which God looked with complacency, as honourable to his holy law and righteous government. This is the propitiation.

As the Lord Jesus suffered death on account of the sins of others, and to avert the punishment due to them, the enquiry is, how should the death of Jesus avert the punishment of sin? Conscious of much ignorance, we ought not to advance rashly, nor to "intrude into things we have not seen." But so far as the light of Scripture conducts

us, we may humbly and devoutly proceed, without incurring the charge of rashness or presumption.

The doctrine of Scripture is, that the sufferings and death of Christ were looked upon by God as objects of complacency and approbation. Christ hath "given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour." (Eph. v. 2.) In the prospect of his sufferings Jesus Christ said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him." "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again." (John x. 17.) What in the sufferings and death of Christ could have been the object of divine complacency? What was there, in the act of laying down his life, that could conciliate the love of his Father? What in his sufferings could glorify God? What was the sweet-smelling savour, the fragrant incense, of that dying sacrifice? Not surely the mere suffering and death, considered by themselves. Mere suffering cannot be pleasing to the merciful and gracious God, who looks with benevolent pleasure upon the happiness of his creatures. Nor in death itself can there be anything agreeable to the living and life-giving God. Much less could he be pleased with the mere sufferings of his holy and well-beloved Son. It is, indeed, said, "It pleased the Father to bruise him; thou hast put him to grief." But not for the sake of the bruising, nor the grief, did God afflict his well-beloved Son. Something else than agony must have been the object of Divine complacency.

The only thing which can be pleasing to God, and can conciliate his love, is moral excellence. If the sufferings of Christ in themselves were not the object of Divine complacency, yet the meek and gentle spirit of the sufferer must have been well pleasing in the sight of his holy Father. With what complacency must God have looked upon that self-devoted, self-sacrificing spirit, which induced the Saviour to submit to "so great a death," "to become

obedient to death, even the death of the cross"! With what approbation must the Father have seen the calm and unbroken resolution of his Son to glorify him, by drinking the bitter cup which he had mingled! With what pleasure must God have heard the submissive voice of Jesus, when he said in his agony, "Not my will but thine be done"! With what delight must the God of love have looked upon the trial and the triumph of the love of Jesus, when he proved himself the good shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep—the kind friend who, when we were yet enemies, died to reconcile us to God! The sufferings of Christ gave occasion for those acts of piety and love, which could not have been done, without the trial of so great distress. How else could he have shown the fortitude and unbroken constancy, with which he endured the cross, and despised the shame, or the meekness and gentleness which is thus described: "who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously"; or the forgiving spirit, with which he cried, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do"? The obedience of Christ perfected in suffering—the attestation of his love, pity, forbearance, self-control, meekness, firmness, supreme desire to glorify God, and universal love of man, must have imparted to the sacrifice its inestimable value, by conciliating the good pleasure and approbation of God. There is no mystery, no uncertainty, in this view of the subject. God must approve moral excellence, must take pleasure in whatever is truly great and good. And where, in the history of the world, has there been so illustrious an example of perfect greatness and goodness? The great trial of the character of Jesus, was in his agony and sorrowful death, and from the trial it came forth perfect and glorious. Not the sufferings themselves, but the meek, submissive, loving, generous, and great spirit of the sufferer, was the sweet-smelling savour of that wonderful sacrifice. The suffer-

ings indirectly, as giving occasion to these acts, feelings, and thoughts of the holy sufferer, procured our redemption; but the holy deeds on which God looked with pleasure were the direct and meritorious cause of our salvation, the true propitiation for our sins. God did tempt Abraham by demanding the offering of his son, and his obedience was rewarded by making him a blessing to all nations. God did try Jesus by requiring the offering of his life, and the offering so willingly presented, as the last and greatest proof of obedience, was the object of the Divine complacency.

3. The deeds, on which God looked with complacency, were meritorious, and deserved a great reward, and the reward granted was the remission of sin to all who believe in Christ. The deserving and obtaining of this reward by our Lord is the atonement.

Atonement properly denotes reconciliation, and is now commonly understood to mean a sacrifice, which procures reconciliation for sinners. The atonement is made to God by the meritorious sufferings and death of the Lord Jesus, and the reconciliation of God to sinners may be called the reward of those sufferings.

This proposition is no more than a corollary from the preceding. Mere suffering does not deserve a reward, for only virtue, or true goodness, can be meritorious; but suffering affords occasion for the exercise of meritorious principles, and through them for the claim of a just reward. The sufferings of Christ were meritorious, just as they were the objects of the Divine complacency; they were endured with perfect righteousness. This assertion requires no proof. Who can contemplate the death of Jesus without assenting to the saying of the centurion, "Truly this was a righteous man"? That so much virtue, so severely tried, and so gloriously displayed, should go unrewarded, would be of all mysteries among the most inexplicable under the government of a just and holy God.



The rewardableness of right-doing is an axiom in moral science, the correlative to the punishment of wrong-doing. That Christ Jesus should have sought the salvation of his people, was in accordance with the spirit of his death ; and that his heavenly Father should have adjudicated to him that salvation as the reward of his merit, was equally in accordance with his own purpose of mercy revealed in due time. It was honourable to the justice of God to reward so meritorious a death, and equally honourable to the love of Jesus to seek such a reward, and to be satisfied with it.

This, I apprehend, is the doctrine, which the old divines called the imputation of the righteousness of Christ. The restoration of that phrase may not be desirable, as it may have been occasionally misunderstood. But the doctrine itself is of inestimable importance. In thinking of the severity of Christ's sufferings, we may possibly have paid too little attention to the merit of the sufferer, and so overlooked the place which his righteousness occupies as the meritorious cause of our salvation. Our redemption is the reward of the righteousness of Christ, especially as it was proved in the suffering of death ; and therefore his righteousness may be said to have been imputed to us, as, by our believing in him, it became available for our justification.

But while the obedience of Christ, his perfect sanctity and righteousness, were strictly meritorious, or the proper ground of reward, as only virtue, not suffering, is capable of true reward ; yet the death of Christ was the proper attestation of his perfect obedience and virtue. His righteousness, capable of enduring the severest trial, could have been demonstrated only by his death. The validity of his plea for the pardon of man's transgressions was thus attested by the severity of his last sufferings. Hence the shedding of the blood of Jesus was the ratification of his justifying righteousness, and therefore the seal of the new covenant. In this sense the death of Christ is the atone-

ment; the shedding of his blood is the pacification for our sins.\*

4. The reward conferred upon Jesus Christ, by the remission of the sins of all believers, was not excessive, nor disproportionate to the merit of his death; and therefore an adequate compensation has been made to Divine justice, and every obstacle to the pardon of sin is entirely removed.

This doctrine may be called the satisfaction. Satisfaction, strictly the doing sufficient, theologically denotes the doing sufficient to meet the demands of Divine justice, in order to secure the pardon of the guilty.† What may be deemed sufficient by the wisdom and justice of God to remove all obstacles to the remission of our sins, it is not for us to pronounce absolutely. But when we are told that our sins are forgiven us for Christ's sake, and when we consider what good he has done, what righteousness he has produced, what obedience he has perfected, we may be confident that he has done sufficient to deserve the greatest possible reward, even the salvation of all believers, be they as many as our most enlarged benevolence can desire. The merit of his sufferings is inestimable. The virtue of so great and glorious a death is the redeeming fact in the dark history of our sinful race. In our family is a Brother who, in the severest trial to which he could be subjected, has been found perfect; who, by his unsullied purity, incorruptible integrity, unfailing obedience, and unexampled love, has done more to glorify the law of God than the sins of all his brethren have ever done to dis-

\* See Appendix B.

† The word 'satisfaction' was in Roman law used to denote that which gives contentment to a person aggrieved, and may be referred either to a debt or an offence. To pay a debt and to give satisfaction for it are thus distinguished by Ulpian:—*Solvit qui creditori pecuniam omnem numerat: satisfacit qui quocumque modo creditorem placat, cautione, satisfactione, pignore, partis debitæ solutione, etc.* To give satisfaction for an offence, (*satisfacere*) was often to make an apology for it.

honour it. I dare not say that Jesus did more than he ought to have done, for a good work of supererogation is an absurd and positive contradiction. To do more than one ought, is to err by excess, but nothing good can be excessive. No man can surpass the obligation, common to all intelligent beings, to be as holy as his nature will allow. With reverence I say it, even the Eternal God cannot perform a work of supererogation,—cannot be better than he ought to be by the infinite obligation of his omnipotent nature. But goodness, not supererogation, deserves an adequate reward, and the greater that goodness, the greater is the injustice of leaving it without its reward. Such goodness as that which Jesus displayed in his death, affords full compensation for the greatest reward included in the salvation of all believers. Therefore, it is an adequate satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.

The sacrifice, propitiation, atonement, and satisfaction, which our blessed Lord made on behalf of sinners, are the great objects of faith, ever to be preserved in the memory of the Christian church. This great propitiation for sin has been sometimes almost forgotten ; and at other times overloaded with so great a superfluity of ritual and ceremony, as to become scarcely distinguishable from its numerous corruptions. It has been by some openly denied as unreasonable, and by others so exaggerated in parts, and distorted in its proportions, as to appear utterly irreconcilable with the plainest dictates of human reason. The great principles involved in our view of the doctrine are, that goodness deserves to be rewarded, and that the perfect goodness of Christ, attested by his death, is rewarded by the salvation of many sinners, whose salvation he sought when he laid down his life in obedience to his Father's will. That some will pronounce these propositions unreasonable we do not doubt. The cross of Christ was foolishness to the Greeks, as well as a stone of

stumbling to the Jews. To many, however, they appear as reconcileable with reason, as they are manifestly the doctrine of Scripture. That such obedience should be unrewarded, or that the salvation of believers should be pronounced too great a reward, appears totally irreconcilable with both reason and Scripture.

If we have stated at all correctly the scriptural doctrine of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, it is sufficiently obvious that the Eucharist cannot be the repetition of any such sacrifice. Christ Jesus, as the High Priest of our profession, "offered himself without spot to God." The priest and the offering are thus intimately connected in Holy Scripture. Without that priest the offering would be unavailing; without that offering the priest would be insufficient. To offer the one sacrifice for sin, "such a high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners." A sinful priest would not become us. "The law maketh men high-priests, who have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated (perfected) for evermore." On the other hand, "Every high-priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices, wherefore it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer: for" (*γὰρ* denoting the ellipsis)\* otherwise, without an offering, if he had not somewhat to offer, "he would not be a priest, were he on earth, seeing the priests are those who offer gifts according to the law." As our priest he must of necessity offer our sacrifice, and this he did when he offered his own body for us. To repeat the sacrifice the same holy Priest must come again upon earth, and offer the same precious body, in the same spirit of obedience and love. The Gospel, unlike the law, acknowledges no priests who have infirmity. To magnify any human deed into the repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, our proper

\* See Appendix C.



High Priest, is inexcusable presumption, and daring profanation of the most awful solemnities.

The Lord's Supper is not a sacrifice, for there is no slaughter of a victim. It is called by Romanists an unbloody sacrifice; but the true sacrifice of Christ was made by the shedding of his blood, and surrender of his life on the cross. On that ground alone, were there no other, the two things are essentially distinct. The bread is declared to be the body and blood of Christ. Be it so. How does the priest slay the victim? Or if he does not kill it, how does he accomplish the proper work of the priest or sacrificer? Our High Priest has no need "that he should offer himself often," (much less that any sinful man should offer him). "For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world, but now once, in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."

The Lord's Supper is not a propitiation. If it be, who is the propitiator? who does the things on which God looks with complacency? The broken and contrite hearts of the communicants are undoubtedly acceptable to God; but they have no authority to represent other persons. If it be said the propitiation is made by the officiating priest, we may well inquire with surprise, What is the extraordinary sanctity of his character, or the merit of his performance, that he should propitiate God for the transgressions of others? If it be said, the elements are truly the body and blood of Christ, the reply is obvious:—God has already looked upon that sacrifice with complacency, when it was offered by a sinless High Priest, with the sweet-smelling savour of his perfect obedience. It is not pretended, that the body of Christ in the sacrament does anything more than lie passive under the semblance of bread. It does not again suffer obediently, and die meekly and submissively. It presents no moral excellence, no act of love,

self-denial, or forbearance, as it did when Jesus offered himself upon the cross.

The Lord's Supper is not an atonement or pacification : it has no meritorious deeds, nothing to deserve a great reward. Who, engaged in the sacrament, produces a righteousness, for which the reconciliation of God to sinners is the appropriate reward ? Not the communicant, who offers for himself alone ; nor the priest, who can plead no such personal excellence ; nor Jesus Christ himself, for he perfected his obedience on the cross, and gives no additional virtue to it by suffering himself to lie passive in the shape of wafers on the altar.

Nor is it a satisfaction for others. If there be no meritorious deeds to be imputed to others, still less can there be merit adequate to satisfy Divine justice for so great a reward as the salvation of a sinner.

As to the extravagant notion that the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice for the sins of the dead as well as of the living, I scarcely know in what terms to characterise so aggravated a profanation. This perversion attributes to the sacrifice of the body of Christ, as offered by a frail and sinful man, a more potent virtue than belonged to it when offered by the perfect High Priest himself. It is true that, through the forbearance of God, the sacrifice of the cross ratified "the forgiveness of sins which were past," to the departed saints of the old dispensation ; but their sins were remitted before they died, by virtue of their faith in the promised Saviour. Of all the dead, not a single sin which was unpardoned at the hour of their death, was remitted by the virtue of that great propitiatory sacrifice. Can sinful men, by their masses for the dead, do greater wonders than Jesus did by his death on the cross ? Can they offer prayers mightier than his prayers and supplications, poured forth with strong crying and tears ? Can they, by taking the body of Christ in their hands, and consecrating it upon their altar, impart to it greater virtue

than it possessed when the blessed Saviour offered it himself, his only propitiation to God for the sins of the world? When we consider this extravagant doctrine of the Romish Church, which too evidently had its origin in an insatiate desire to enrich and aggrandize its priests, we feel our hearts stirred within us to endeavour, by all proper means in our power, to expose the true character of every attempt, avowed or clandestine, to annul the great work of the Reformation in our highly-favoured country.

All who believe that the death of Christ was the only sacrifice for the sins of the world, must acknowledge that it is of the utmost importance to perpetuate the memory of so great a death. And though it was absolutely necessary that the truth should be expressly stated in so many words, and that the statement should be preserved in writing, as the object of our intelligent and confident belief; yet Christ has seen fit to institute an affecting and appropriate memorial, and to entrust it to the custody of the Christian Church. Memorials of important events, as they are exceedingly useful to men, have been often appointed by God in condescension to our infirmities. The Passover itself was such a memorial. It was the commemoration of a sacrifice which bore a considerable resemblance to the death of Jesus, in so far as it was a substitution, a lamb being slain to save the first-born; a propitiation, the angel of death being pacified by the sign of blood; an atonement, the punishment of death being averted from the obedient family; and a satisfaction, the act of obedience being regarded as sufficiently meritorious to allow the family to escape the threatened evil. If Christ Jesus desired that his death should be thus commemorated, how readily ought we to observe his dying request! He has not imposed a burdensome ceremonial. What can be more easy than to eat bread and drink wine, at stated seasons, with the congregation of Christian people? "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink of this

cup, ye do show the Lord's death until he come." The benefits of the sacrifice are commended to our acceptance. The most affecting motives to holiness are, in this solemn observance, brought to our remembrance. In this service, God commendeth his love towards us. It is for us to make the practical application to our own hearts, by cherishing a forbearing and forgiving spirit towards our brethren, after the example of our dying Lord. If God so loved us, how ought we also to love one another!



## APPENDIX TO LECTURE XII.

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A. Page 284.

ON THE REAL PRESENCE OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST,  
AS MAINTAINED IN THE FORMULARIES OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ON examining the doctrine of the Church of England, respecting the presence of Christ in the sacrament, we ought carefully to examine the words of her own authorized formularies.

On consulting the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, we find the following prayer:—"Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us." What is meant by the clause, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," I cannot satisfy myself; but, considered in this connexion, it seems to allude to some effect produced upon our bodies by eating the flesh of Christ. Passing over this obscure phrase,—obscure at least to those who do not believe in the real presence,—we have to inquire, how ought we to interpret the words, "so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood?"

It will be observed, that the obscurity of the succeeding clause renders the signification of these words doubtful, and difficult to be ascertained. The meaning of the prayer depends upon the comparison, "so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son, and to drink his blood, *that* our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," &c. But this

comparison we cannot distinctly understand. Two interpretations of the words readily suggest themselves, the one literal, the other figurative. According to the former, the flesh of Christ is actually and truly eaten in the bread, and his blood is truly drunk in the wine : according to the latter, the words denote, that in eating the bread, and drinking the wine, the communicants figuratively feed upon Christ, or make his propitiatory sacrifice the support of their spiritual life. It is difficult to imagine a third interpretation, but neither of these can be maintained consistently with other statements in the public formularies of the English Church.

That the flesh of Christ is corporeally in the consecrated bread, and corporeally eaten, is contrary to the twenty-eighth Article, which says, "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean, whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith." In no words can the doctrine of a corporeal presence be more certainly and expressly denied. On the other hand, the figurative interpretation of the body of Christ is evidently contrary to the Catechism, which says, in answer to the question, "What is the inward part or thing signified? The body and blood of Christ, which are *verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." The words "*verily and indeed*" seem as much opposed to figuratively, as the words "after a heavenly and spiritual manner" are to corporeally.

In accordance with these remarks, writers of the highest authority in the Church of England maintain a real presence, which is not corporeal, of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament : that is, they maintain a real presence very like that for which, as we have seen in the Lecture, Calvin and other reformers contended. Although this could not have been the opinion of Cranmer who, in an extract already cited, represents "the whole effect and strength of the sacrament" to consist in "a constant and lively faith and belief that he gave his body and shed his blood on the cross for us," yet the highest authorities subsequent to him are for the most part favourable to this interpretation. They maintain that there is in the sacrament a real presence which is not corporeal ; that a spiritual presence may be as true and real as a corporeal presence ; and that, in speaking of eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, they do not speak figuratively, although they do not believe in the carnal, or natural eating of the body of Christ, as they eat the bread which is the symbol of his body.

We contend, that the real presence of a body is a bodily presence,

and can be nothing else. Episcopalians speak of the body of Christ being present in some mysterious manner, which they do not presume to explain. But this controversy has respect to a fact, and not to the manner of it. The body of Christ cannot be both present and absent at once. If it be really present, it must be present as it is, in its own nature, and not as it is not. It is essentially distinct from a spirit, and therefore its real presence is not spiritual. "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." This doctrine of a real presence which is not corporeal, bears too near an affinity to the old heresy of the Phantomists. The body of Christ may be figuratively said to be present, when we believingly meditate upon him, and so obtain spiritual blessings from his death; but to forget that in using such language we speak figuratively, is to fall into great confusion of thought.

Bishop Cosin, in his History of Popish Transubstantiation, maintains that "the real, that is, true and not imaginary presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is proved by Scripture, and yet this favours not the tenet of transubstantiation, being, it is not to be understood grossly and carnally, but spiritually and sacramentally" (p. 9 of the new edition). He says, "Here is the spiritual, and yet no less true and undoubted than if it were corporal, eating of Christ's flesh" (p. 12). In support of this doctrine he cites many authorities, as Bishop Jewel (p. 17), who says in his Apology, according to the translation of Cosin, "that to the faithful is truly given in the sacrament the body and blood of our Lord, the life-giving flesh of the Son of God, which quickens our souls, the bread that came from heaven, the food of immortality, grace, and truth, and life; and that it is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, that we may abide in him, and he in us; and that it may be ascertained that the flesh and blood of Christ is the food of our souls, as bread and wine are of our bodies." The next citation is from the work of Poinet, Bishop of Winchester, entitled, *Diallacticon viri boni et litterati de veritate, natura, atque substantia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*, 1576. According to the version of Cosin, this defender of the Anglican doctrine says, "that the holy Eucharist is not only the figure, but also contains in itself the *truth, nature, and substance* of the body of our blessed Saviour; and that those words, nature and substance, ought not to be rejected because the fathers used them in speaking of that mystery." He further asserts that, "according to the unanimous consent of the fathers, this matter must be understood in a spiritual sense, banishing all grosser and more carnal thoughts" (p. 19). Bishop Andrews is then cited as saying,

in his Answer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmine, "Christ said, This is my body. In this, the object, we are agreed with you: the manner only is controverted. We hold by a firm belief that it is the body of Christ: of the manner how it comes to be so, there is not a word in the Gospel; and because the Scripture is silent in this, we justly disown it to be a matter of faith. We may indeed rank it among the tenets of the school, but by no means among the articles of our Christian belief. We like well what Durandus is reported to have said: 'We hear the word and feel the motion: we know not the manner, and yet believe the presence: for we believe a real presence, no less than you do' (p. 20). In support of the same doctrine, he adduces the authorities of the following distinguished prelates of the English Church:—Bilson of Winchester,\* Buckeridge of Rochester,† Montague of Norwich,‡ Usher of Armagh,§ White of Ely,|| Laud of Canterbury,¶ Overall of Norwich, and many others. Of the doctrine of Hooker, the following passage is an illustration:—"His flesh is meat, and his blood is drink, not by surmised imagination, but truly, even so truly, that through faith we perceive in the body and blood, sacramentally presented, the very taste of eternal life; the grace of the sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that some did exceedingly fear, lest Zuinglius and Œcolampadius would bring to pass, that men should account of this sacrament, but only as of a shadow, destitute, empty, and void of Christ. But seeing that, by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown, for aught I can see, on all sides at length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, the real participation of Christ, and of life in his body and blood, by means of this sacrament."\*\*\* The same doctrine is maintained in passages too numerous to cite, by Jeremy Taylor and subsequent writers, reputed of chief authority in the Church of England.

On comparing these passages with the authorized formularies of the Church of England, we can have little hesitation in affirming that the doctrine respecting the Eucharist, which has the best right to be regarded orthodox in the Church of England is, that there is a real but not corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. A corporeal presence cannot be attributed to that church, as no words can be more express than are its authorities in opposition to transubstantiation, consubstantiation, and every form of carnally eat-

\* Answer to Cardinal Alan.

† In Anti-diatrib.

|| Reply to Fisher, p. 179.

\*\* Ecclesiastical Polity. B. v. sect. 67.

† Do Potestate Papæ.

§ Controversy with a Jesuit, ch. 3.

¶ Against Fisher, p. 246.



ing the body of Christ. On the other hand, they as expressly deny that the presence is only figurative or symbolic. A spiritual presence, according to them, is as real as a corporeal presence. We have already seen that the presence of a body must be a bodily presence. If it be present really, it is present locally. If it be not present locally, it is locally absent, and therefore really and truly absent. If locally absent, the body of Christ cannot be "verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." The defenders of this doctrine say, the manner of Christ's presence is mysterious and inexplicable. We reply, their doctrine is not to be classed among mysteries. In asserting the *real presence* of a body which is *locally absent*, they leave the region of mystery for that of logical inconsistency. Consubstantiation is mysterious; transubstantiation is metaphysically impossible; but the real presence of a body, corporeally and therefore locally absent, is positive contradiction. Every writer who, with Calvin, denies the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament—however, like Calvin, he may refuse to acknowledge it—logically denies the real presence, and virtually agrees with Zwingle in representing the bread and wine as only the symbols of Christ's body and blood. The real presence of Christ, as a Divine Person, in the sacrament, is undeniable; but his body is not endowed with omnipresence, nor with any other Divine attribute.

The contrast between the language of Cranmer and that of Bishop Cosin, and most of the writers cited by him, is worthy of careful attention. Cosin says of the real presence, for which he strenuously contended, "This manner of presence is unaccountable, and past finding out, not to be searched and pried into by reason, but believed by faith. And if it seems impossible that the flesh of Christ should descend and come to be our food through so great a distance, we must remember how much the power of the Holy Spirit exceeds our sense and our apprehensions, and how absurd it would be to undertake to measure his immensity by our weakness and narrow capacity, and so make our faith to conceive and believe what our reason cannot comprehend." ("History of Transubstantiation," p. 54.) Again he says, "Protestants firmly believing the words of Christ, make the form of this sacrament to consist in the union of the thing signified with the sign; that is, the exhibition of the body of Christ with the consecrated bread, still remaining bread. By Divine appointment, these two are made one; and though this union be not natural, substantial, personal, or local, by their being one within another, yet it is so straight and so true, that in eating the blessed bread, the true body of Christ is given to us" (p. 59).

Observe how differently Cranmer speaks of eating the body of Christ, as an act of the ancient saints, who "did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink." He says, "They spiritually, by their faith, were fed and nourished by Christ's body and blood, and had eternal life by him before he was born, as we have now, that come after his ascension. The Romanists say that good men eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, only at the time when they receive the sacrament; we say, that they eat, drink, and feed of Christ continually, so long as they be members of his body. They say, that the body of Christ which is in the sacrament hath his own proper form and quantity; we say, that Christ is there sacramentally and spiritually, without form or quantity. They say, that the fathers and prophets of the Old Testament did not eat the body nor drink the blood of Christ; we say, that they did eat his body and drink his blood, although he was not yet born nor incarnated."\* It is to be regretted that an influence hostile to these opinions, modified the formularies of the English Church, and gave so just occasion for the objections of the Puritans, and the protest of the Nonconformists.

It is remarkable that Cosin, in citing so many authorities in defence of what he considered the true doctrine of the Church of England, has not once adverted to Cranmer, nor to any of the first promoters of the English Reformation.

Cosin affirms of the bread and the body of Christ, that "both are united in time, though not in place" (p. 59). The Lutherans believe they are united by consubstantiation, both in time and place. Cranmer, as is evident from his asserting that ancient saints "did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, although he was not yet born, nor incarnated," denied the union both in time and in place, and maintained only a symbolical union, the bread representing the absent body of Christ, and the wine the blood which was shed on the cross.

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\* Cranmer's Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament. Book iii. ch. 10.

## B. Page 316.

ON THE JUSTIFYING VIRTUE OF THE PERFECT RIGHTEOUSNESS  
OF CHRIST.

The Puritan and Nonconformist divines were accustomed to speak much of imputation—of the imputation of our guilt to Christ, and the imputation of his righteousness to us. This language has, to a considerable degree, become obsolete among their successors; and, although not anxious to recover it, I am very anxious that our churches should retain their unfaltering confidence in the doctrine which was intended to be expressed by those terms. By the imputation of our guilt to Christ, as I apprehend, nothing more was intended than the fact of his suffering on account of our sins, or being made a sacrifice for them. However objectionable some may consider this language, it appears to convey no other ideas than those of the scriptural words, “He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might become the righteousness of God in him.” 2 Cor. v. 21. “Who himself bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live to righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.” 1 Pet. ii. 24. If any understand more than this by the imputation of our guilt to Christ—if they mean that he endured that exact amount of suffering which was due to the guilt of all mankind, or of all who are saved, as if that same suffering in nature or in degree had been transferred to him, we do not use the terms in this sense, for “we have not so learned Christ.”

The imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the sinner, is the doctrine which, we fear, is in greater danger of being overlooked in modern representations of the atonement. Unless we substitute some phrase of similar import (if we do not like to retain the language of the old theology), there is some reason to apprehend that the meritorious cause of our justification may fall into neglect, and be suffered gradually to disappear from our public ministrations of Christian truth. If the phrase be not happily chosen, let another be suggested, to express the evangelical truth that the obedience of Christ, attested and perfected by his sufferings, is that which meritoriously obtains the justification of sinners. The meritorious value of the atonement consists in the moral excellence of the sufferer, for nothing else can be meritorious; the attestation of that meritorious virtue was in the

laying down of his life by Christ Jesus, acting on our behalf, in the discharge of his sacerdotal office, as the high-priest of our profession.

However prominent this doctrine appears in the Puritan theology, in many modern expositions of the atonement, so far as I have had opportunity of consulting them, I have been greatly disappointed in finding it so imperfectly stated, if not altogether overlooked. The writers direct their attention exclusively to the sufferings of Christ, and so disregard the peculiar virtue of his perfect righteousness. My reading upon this subject may not have been fortunate, or it may not have been so extensive as to authorize me to speak with confidence, but I can at present refer to only few exceptions to this complaint. These exceptions are among the ablest of the writers, who may be called moderate Calvinists—men who thought carefully on every subject of which they wrote, and who, therefore, wrote on no subject without exhibiting it in its just and full proportions. I refer chiefly to Dr. Edward Williams, and Dr. George Payne. I adduce their opinions to illustrate what I have said upon this subject, and I know no theological writers whose opinions on what may be called the systematic department of theology, I more value, or in whose reasonings I have greater confidence.

Dr. Williams, in his notes on “Doddridge’s Lectures on Divinity,” states his views of the grounds and nature of the propitiatory sacrifice for sin, in the following very clear and satisfactory manner. The definition of the atonement, given by Doddridge, which appears to me very defective, and on which Dr. Williams justly animadverts, as being “not a little ambiguous,” is, “whatever that is, which being done or suffered, either by an offending creature himself, or by another person for him, shall secure the honours of the Divine government, in bestowing upon the offender pardon and happiness, may properly be called a satisfaction or atonement made to God for him.” Lect. clix. sect. 1. On this definition Dr. Williams thus observes: “This mode of expression is not a little ambiguous; it seems to leave the *satisfaction itself* in a kind of dependence on the subsequent acts of men. Whereas the future actions of men, whether faith, repentance, obedience, or the like, can have no retrospective influence on Christ or his work, however they may affect ourselves. The *satisfaction* of Christ and its application include the following particulars:—

“1. Jesus Christ possessed a *federal perfection*, and in subserviency to that, a *moral perfection*, (required of all moral agents,) whereby the breach made by Adam in the covenant of works was made up.

“2. This federal perfection was obtained by his *obedience unto*



*death*; whereby the *law* as a covenant, and also Divine *justice*, were *satisfied with him* as the mediator and surety of his people, and gave him a full right to claim all the *ends* of such obedience.

“3. One great end of his undertaking was, that on condition of his obtaining this federal perfection, he should have all authority and right to give and apply righteousness, life, and salvation to the objects of sovereign choice. He had power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as the Father had given him.

“4. In the fulness of the time appointed for their effectual calling, HE gives himself, and applies his righteousness, life, and converting grace, to all those whose surety he is, but no others. Thus they stand related to a new covenant head, are justified from all things, and are enabled, as alive from the dead, to perfect holiness in the fear of God. Repentance and sincere obedience are, therefore, the *fruit* of the satisfaction made by Christ, though *required* of us on the ground of moral government.”—*Williams's Edition of Doddridge's Works*, vol. v. p. 212.

Dr. Payne, in his valuable Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, &c., says, “We shall feel compelled to acknowledge that the Saviour made atonement by obeying the precepts of the law, as well as by suffering its penalty; because that obedience tended to honour the law; to show that its precepts are holy, just, and good; that the lawgiver entertains the highest possible sense of its rectitude; and that, consequently, it cannot be violated with impunity.

“That atonement was made by the passive obedience of Christ exclusively appears to me an opinion so manifestly inconsistent with the view of its nature which has been exhibited in the preceding pages, that I can scarcely persuade myself to believe it does not always originate from some of those mistaken conceptions in regard to its nature, which have been already examined: at all events, it harmonizes with them. ‘Christ has paid my debt,’ says one, ‘and hence I am delivered.’ Now, what are likely to be the views of this individual in reference to what we have denominated the *manner* of the atonement? What idea is he likely to attach to the term *debt*? He owes, it is true, a *debt of obedience* to the Divine law; but, were he to include *that* debt in his conceptions, it would seem to follow, that he is personally released from all obligations to yield obedience to this law. He accordingly settles down into the conviction, that it was his *debt of suffering* that was paid by the Redeemer; or in other words, that atonement was made by the death of Christ exclusively.

“Again, if Christ rescues his people by enduring the exact amount

of suffering which they must have sustained, there could manifestly be no atoning efficacy in anything but his sufferings. The obedience which he paid to the law must, in that case, be regarded merely as a preparatory and necessary *qualification* for the great work of presenting to God a satisfaction for sin.

“ Atonement was then made by the obedience as well as the sufferings of our Lord ; but the ascription of one part of our salvation to his obedience, and of another part to his death, savours too much of the technical theology of the schools. It is a distinction unsupported by any of the representations of the Word of God. The general statements of the Scripture teach us to consider the obedience unto death of the Son of God—for he obeyed when he suffered, and suffered when he obeyed—the fulfilment by him of all righteousness during his life ; the sorrow and grief which pressed so heavily upon him from the manger to the cross, together with the bodily and mental agonies he endured when he hung upon the tree, as constituting together that great work by which the Divine character is glorified, the honour and efficiency of the Divine law sustained, and the safety of the Divine government secured, while pardon is bestowed upon the transgressor who believes in him. It has been said, indeed, that the obedience of Christ vindicates the preceptive part of the law, and his sufferings, its penalty ; as if the obedience did not vindicate the penalty, nor the sufferings the precepts, neither of which is the case. And, with reference to the latter, it may be observed, that no vindication of the rectitude of the precepts of the law can be conceived of more striking and conclusive than that which was supplied by the death of our Lord. A penalty arising out of the breach of unrighteous precepts would not have been endured by him. And it is merely because his death tended more eminently to honour the Divine law, to preserve its efficiency as an instrument of moral government, than either the obedience or sufferings of his previous life, that the blessings of pardon, justification, and eternal life, are more frequently ascribed to it than to his active obedience. It is not because there was not atoning influence in the one, but more, so to speak, of atoning influence in the other ; for what is atonement but the removal of those obstacles, on the part of the Divine government, which prevented the communication of his grace to man ? Now, to the removal of these obstacles, the righteousness of Emmanuel contributed as really, if not as powerfully, as his death. Hence the exaltation and glory of Christ are represented, not merely as the reward of his death, but of his previous humiliation and sufferings. ‘ Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ

Jesus : who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God : but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men : and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name : that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in *heaven*, and things in earth, and things under the earth ; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.' Phil. ii. 5—11.

“The obedience of Christ, and the sufferings of his life, must not then be considered merely as necessary acts of preparation for the great work of atonement ; they enter, on the contrary, into the very essence of the atonement ; though we mainly ascribe that blessed result to his death.”—*Lectures on Divine Sovereignty*, &c. pp. 177—179.

Through neglecting to give due prominence to the obedience of Christ, tried through his whole life, and especially perfected and demonstrated in his suffering unto death, some writers upon the doctrine of atonement appear to ascribe to physical suffering only the meritorious influence which belongs properly to moral qualities, for these only can deserve a reward. If we learn from the teaching of Dr. Payne, that “the obedience of Christ enters into the very essence of the atonement,” we shall be preserved from so great a misconstruction of elementary truth.

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### C. Page 318.

#### ON THE PRIESTHOOD OF CHRIST UPON EARTH.

On what appears to me a mistranslation of the fourth verse of the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, has been founded a very serious error, which has been adopted by some modern theologians after the example of the old Socinian writers. The error to which I refer is, that Christ Jesus discharged the office of a priest, not when he died on earth, but when he ascended to heaven ; that is, he offered his propitiatory sacrifice, not on the cross, but before the throne, where he ever liveth to make intercession.

The passage on which this opinion rests is thus rendered in the authorized version : " For every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices : wherefore it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer. For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law." Heb. viii. 3, 4.

From this passage the old Socinians inferred that Christ was made a priest, not during his ministry on earth, but on his ascension to heaven, and consequently, that his death was not a true oblation or sacrifice, but a certain preparation for the sacerdotal work accomplished in heaven. As Turretine, cited by Dr. Payne, expounds their opinion, that Christ " sacerdotem non fuisse in terra, sed factum esse in cœlis, et mortem ejus non fuisse oblationem seu sacrificium veri nominis, sed preparationem quandam istius sacerdotii in cœlis demum administrandi."—*Lectures on Christian Theology*, vol. ii. p. 203.

Mr. M'Lean, in his Commentary on the Hebrews, maintains the same opinion respecting the priesthood of Christ; and with him the late Dr. Russel, of Dundee, is represented by Dr. Payne as agreeing. Both these Scottish divines, it need scarcely be observed, held firmly the doctrine of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ. Mr. M'Lean writes : " If Christ was consecrated to the priesthood by his own blood, then he must have suffered in order to his consecration, and before his hand could be filled to enter into the heavenly place with his offering. Upon the whole, though Christ suffered on earth, giving his life a ransom for many, sustaining the curse of the law in our stead, and bearing our sins in his own body on the tree, yet it does not appear from Scripture that in this he acted in the character of high priest, but of a voluntary substituted sacrifice; for he was not consecrated to be a priest on earth, but to present his offering in the heavenly sanctuary."—*Commentary on the Hebrews*, vol. ii. p. 256.

In reply to this statement, Dr. Payne supposes that the apostle intended to affirm, not " that our Lord was in no sense a priest on earth, but rather, that he was not an earthly priest, and that the larger, if not the more important, part of his ministry, was to be carried on in heaven." Vol. ii. p. 217. Much to the same effect is the conclusion of Dr. Owen in his commentary on the passage : " If we did aver him to have such a priesthood, as in the discharge thereof he were always to continue on earth, and to administer in the sanctuary of the tabernacle or temple with the blood of legal sacrifices,—on this supposition the apostle grants that he could not be a priest."



Professor Moses Stuart, retaining the common translation, says, "The Scripture calls Christ *ιερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* : but this he could not be on earth, inasmuch as there are already priests there by Divine appointment ; consequently, he is priest in the temple above, and must present his offering there." (Com. on Heb. viii. 4.)

It appears to me that the difficulty has arisen from a misconstruction of the fourth verse, the text of which is, *Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ γῆς, οὐδ' ἂν ἦν ἱερεὺς, ὕντων τῶν ἱερέων τῶν προσφερόντων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὰ δῶρα*.

On observing these words, it is very evident that the last clause is expressed as definitely as it is possible for Greek words to express it. What mean the articles in the phrase, *τῶν ἱερέων τῶν προσφερόντων* ? This very definite phrase is made indefinite in the authorized version, and so far as I know, is so rendered by critics and commentators generally. Instead of being rendered indefinitely, "There are priests that offer gifts according to the law," the words ought undoubtedly to be rendered definitely, "The priests are they who offer gifts according to the law." This appears so obvious that I scarcely think it can require any further remarks. The force of the articles limits the priests to those only who offer gifts.

That "there are priests who offer gifts according to the law," appears to me an observation as unconnected with the argument of the passage, as it is unsupported by the words of the original. The author of the epistle, having demonstrated the superiority of the priesthood of Christ, proceeds to illustrate the value of his sacrifice. He shows that the office of a priest implies the offering of a sacrifice. "Every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices : wherefore it is of necessity that this priest have somewhat also to offer." The particle *γὰρ* connects the fourth verse with the third, as assigning a reason of something previously said or implied. But how does the common rendering supply any reason whatever for anything the writer has said or supposed ? In the English construction the fourth verse stands alone, having no dependence on the preceding verse, nor sustaining anything stated in it. The common version as effectually suppresses the particle *γὰρ* as it does the articles already noticed. On considering how frequently *γὰρ* is used when the expression is elliptical, we can have little difficulty in connecting this verse with the preceding, and so bringing out distinctly the meaning of the passage. I thus render the two verses,—"Every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices ; whence it is necessary that this priest also should have something which he may offer. For," (otherwise, without an offering, the ellipsis suggested by the particle

γὰρ,) “if he were on earth he could not be a priest, the priests being they who offer gifts according to the law.” The sense is thus obvious, as the construction is grammatical. Every priest must offer gifts. Without somewhat to offer, Christ on earth could not be a priest, for the priests are they who offer gifts. But Christ on earth was a priest, as had been previously shown. He, therefore, had something to offer. The apostle (for I believe the apostle Paul was the writer) then shows how excellent was that sacrifice, which the High Priest of our profession offered for us when he was upon earth. I need not observe at greater length how this passage, thus explained, affords no support to the notion, that the priesthood of Christ commenced when he entered into heaven. The passage is in complete harmony with the doctrine, that Christ Jesus acted on our behalf as our high priest, by offering his own body, when “he gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour.”

## LECTURE XIII.

### THE LORD'S SUPPER, A COMMEMORATION BY APPROPRIATE EMBLEMS.

"Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."  
—JOHN vi. 53.

Our general proposition is, that the Lord's Supper is a commemoration, by appropriate emblems, of the sacrificial death of the Lord Jesus. This includes two parts, or separate propositions. One, which we have already considered, is, "The Lord's Supper is a commemoration of the sacrificial death of Christ." The other, which we have now to consider, is, "The Lord's Supper is a commemoration by the use of appropriate emblems."

Although verbal teaching is more precise and definite, as well as more complete, than teaching by emblems, or visible signs; yet emblems are often more impressive than the most appropriate words. Instruction by visible signs may fail to impart correct knowledge; but if the knowledge be correctly conveyed in words, the illustration by appropriate signs often excites the emotions which properly belong to the truths previously known. Such visible signs do the service of figures in a scientific work. They illustrate the truth, and impress it upon the mind, although, without the verbal description, they would not convey a single thought correctly.

True religion is much more than mere knowledge of the truth. It consists very much of holy and devout affections.

The power of Christian truth is felt in the appropriate emotions which it excites. Christ crucified is the great truth which sanctifies the sinner; but if that glorious truth be preached in a cold, unimpassioned, and uninteresting manner, the hearers are not excited with sufficient interest and feeling to afford the means by which the sanctifying truth may influence and purify the heart.

In the Lord's Supper, Christ Jesus is set forth evidently crucified for us. When a pastor, in administering the Sacrament, does just what Jesus did, on that same night in which he was betrayed: when he takes the bread, as Jesus took it: thanks God over it, as Jesus gave thanks: breaks it, as Jesus brake it: gives it to the communicants, as Jesus gave it to his disciples, and says, as Jesus said, "This is my body, which is given for you;" and does with the cup, as Jesus did: they who eat of that bread and drink of that cup, profess to receive for the life of their souls the spiritual blessings procured by the sacrifice of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus. If their faith discern the Lord's body, they become affected with devout and reverential thoughts; they feel the love of Christ constraining them; they look upon the signs and memorials of Christ's death with penitential sorrow and softening of heart. Such is the impression produced by appropriate emblems of the Redeemer's sacrifice. But this is a subject for personal appeal, rather than for general reasoning. Many Christians can attest the truth of this statement, recollecting the seasons when, at the table of the Lord, they have said, "It is good for us to be here."

There is another illustration of the importance of emblematical commemorations. They supply the best means of perpetuating the evidence of past events among people who are not sufficiently educated to estimate correctly the value of written testimony. I do not mean that commemorative institutions supply better evidence than documents, but that they supply evidence which is better understood



by an illiterate people. Of no events in English history are our common people so well assured, as of those whose memory is preserved by annual commemorations.

A very considerable proportion of the primitive Christians undoubtedly belonged to the least educated class of society. Many of them were occupied in handicraft: many were slaves. How many Christians in later ages have been unable to read the Bible! But appropriate emblems are easily understood. By a commemorative rite fathers may transmit to their children a knowledge of past events, as well as by an ancient manuscript. The religious observance of the first day of the week is a public testimony in favour of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. So, by eating of this bread, and drinking of this cup, we "show the Lord's death until he come." In the ancient church when, in reference to the words of the minister, "The body of Christ broken for you," "The blood of Christ shed for you," the people said, "Amen," the most illiterate could intelligently unite in so appropriate a celebration.

The value of a commemorative institution depends very much upon the appropriate and expressive character of its emblems. If no signs can express their meaning so distinctly as words, some signs can express it more accurately and distinctly than others. The truth represented by this sacrament is, that the death of Christ is a sacrifice for the sins of men, and the signs which our Lord has appointed are appropriate emblems of this universally important truth.

Figurative language, in its nature and design, nearly resembles emblematical representations. Both are suggested by the same principle of mental association. The same comparison may be expressed either by words or by visible signs. Observe how the words of Jesus coincide with the emblems of his Supper: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and

drinketh my blood, hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." John vi. 53—56.

In noticing this coincidence, I do not intend to intimate that our blessed Lord in these words made any direct reference, or even distant allusion, to the institution of the Eucharist. That he did is often assumed, as it appears to me, not only without reason, but in opposition to many cogent reasons, which may be adduced against the probability of any such reference. The Lord's Supper was not at that time instituted. But if our Lord spake of an institution of which his hearers were totally ignorant, and by no possibility could have obtained any information, it is not wonderful that his disciples, when they heard it, said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" What other reply could have been reasonably expected? If our Lord meant, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood really, as Catholics assert, or even sacramentally, as some Protestant interpreters contend, his speech must have been absolutely unintelligible to all his hearers. To those who murmured at his words, how could he have said, "Doth this offend you?" In their unavoidable, not wilful ignorance, how could they have been expected to put such an interpretation upon our Lord's words, as implied any reference to an unknown rite?

Another reason appears to me quite conclusive against any such interpretation. The disciples could not have received the Eucharist before it was instituted "on that night in which he was betrayed." Would Jesus have said to them before that time, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood," (meaning, unless ye partake of the Eucharist,) "ye have no life in you"? The time for such a participation had not then come. Before the command had been given, "Do this in remembrance of me," it would have been premature to threaten with the penalty of death

any who could not possibly obey the injunction. According to this interpretation, the words of our blessed Lord were as unseasonable as they were unintelligible.

But, although our Lord did not refer directly to the Eucharist, he undoubtedly referred to great evangelical truths, of which that ordinance is the significant emblem. He had taught his disciples, that he would give his flesh for the life of the world. This doctrine was not premature. It had been exhibited in ancient types, and predicted by many prophets. By the death of Jesus, sinners were to obtain the right to everlasting life. Our Lord, therefore, teaching the necessity of receiving everlasting life through his sacrificial death, proposed his doctrine in the figurative language, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life." The figure employed in this language is obviously the same as that which is employed in the Lord's Supper. The communicants emblematically eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man. The figurative words and the emblematical signs exactly correspond in the illustration of the same doctrine. To obtain spiritual and everlasting life by participating in the blessings of the sacrificial death of Christ, is called "eating his flesh" and "drinking his blood;" and it is represented by eating bread and drinking wine, the emblems of his body and blood. The emblems, being thus in accordance with our Lord's words, are easily understood and obviously appropriate.

There is another figure which our Lord employs in the same discourse: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the *bread* which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." In these words, the flesh of Jesus is compared to bread, as in the Sacrament it is signified by bread. The comparison and the emblem, the words and the visible signs, precisely correspond, and the correspondence may be easily discerned through all the

parts of the sacramental service. If the bread be the emblem of the body of Christ, the distribution of the bread represents the giving of his body for us, and the eating of the bread, our receiving the blessings purchased by the sacrifice of his body. To eat the living bread which came down from heaven, is to believe in Christ for eternal life, according to his saying, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life; I am that bread of life: if a man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever."

The appropriateness of the sacramental emblems, manifestly depends upon the interpretation of our Lord's words, considered in connexion with the fact, that the bread of the Eucharist is the symbol of the body of Christ.

That the bread is the appropriate emblem of the body of Christ, is an assertion opposed not only to the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, but to every other form of the theory of the corporeal presence in the sacrament. If the true body of Christ be really present in the bread, or with the bread, the fact of eating it is so inexpressibly awful, that the bread itself becomes as unimportant to the sacrament as if it were annihilated by an actual transubstantiation. Who would think of the nature of bread, while he was breaking and receiving and eating the true body of the Lord Jesus? The emblem would be disregarded in the awful reality. The bread would occupy no important place in the Lord's Supper. With what propriety would the high priest, on entering within the veil on the great day of atonement, direct his attention to the overshadowing wings of the carved cherubim, while between them the glory of the Shechinah was shining over the mercy-seat? With as little propriety should we regard the sign, if the thing signified were actually present.

We have, in a preceding Lecture, fully considered the words of our Lord, "This is my body," and shown that,



so far from supporting the dogma of transubstantiation, or any other theory of the real presence, they supply, when considered in their proper connexion, sufficient reasons for rejecting all such doctrines.

We must, however, here return to the doctrine of transubstantiation, because the words of our Lord which we have cited, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life," are generally adduced as a primary argument in its defence. Assuming that these words are to be literally understood, Romanists ask, "How can we eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God, unless we do so in the sacrament of the Eucharist?" Lutheran divines adduce this passage in defence of their view of the real presence, with more confidence than even the words "This is my body." We have also observed how Calvin, and other reformers, influenced by the literal signification of these words, attributed more to the sacraments than Zwingle and Carlostadt had done; so that the body of Christ might be said to be eaten, and his blood to be drunk, although, in their estimation, not in a corporeal, but in a spiritual sense—not by the organs of the body, but by the faith of the soul. Under the influence of some such interpretation, the words of the catechism seem to have been sanctioned by the founders of the English Church,—“The body and blood of Christ, which are *verily* and *indeed* taken and received by the faithful, in the Lord's Supper ”

It should, however, be observed, that some of the earliest and most distinguished of the English reformers did not refer the words of which we are speaking to the Lord's Supper. Archbishop Cranmer says, "Christ in that phrase of John spake not of the material and sacramental bread, *nor of the sacramental eating*: for that was spoken two or three years before the sacrament was first

ordained. But he spake of spiritual bread, many times repeating, 'I am the bread of life, which came down from heaven,' and of spiritual eating by faith, after which sort he was at that same present time eaten of as many as believed on him, although the sacrament was not at that time made and instituted. . . . Therefore, this phrase of St. John can in nowise be understood of the sacramental bread, which neither came from heaven, neither giveth life to all that eat of it. Nor of such bread could Christ have then presently said, 'This is my flesh,' except they will say that Christ did then consecrate, so many years before the institution of the holy Supper."\*

On the literal interpretation of these sayings of Jesus, Dr. Wiseman constructs a very elaborate argument in defence of the real presence. But let it be observed, how completely the learned Cardinal's argument in favour of transubstantiation, founded on the words, "This is my body," is overturned by his own labours in defending the literal interpretation of these sayings of our blessed Lord. I have adduced his argument in a preceding Lecture. The Cardinal observes, "Christ does not say 'Bread is my body,' or 'Wine is my blood,' which would have brought these words within the possibility of a comparison with 'the seven kine are seven years,' or 'the horns are kings.' But he says, 'This is my body,' and 'This is my blood.' The 'This' is nothing but the body and blood."† He fully admits, or rather, contends, that if our Lord had said, "This bread is my body," the interpretation must of necessity be, "This bread symbolizes my body." Let us apply his reasoning to his own argument on the words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." The embankment which he has raised in defence of the real presence, consists of

\* Defence of the True Doctrine of the Sacraments, b. ii. c. 10.

† Lectures on the Eucharist, sect. v. p. 180.

the earth which he has obtained by undermining his previous argument in favour of transubstantiation.

Dr. Wiseman contends that the words, "To eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood," are to be understood literally. Be it so. But Jesus says, in the same connexion, "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." According to the canon of the Cardinal, these words must be figurative, for bread cannot be flesh. What, then, becomes of the celebrated argument from the omission of the word "bread" in our Lord's declaration, "This is my body"? But the phrase, "The bread that I will give is my flesh," is the key to the whole discourse of our blessed Lord. In one place bread is spoken of, just as flesh and blood are spoken of in another. "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." "Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life." "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." If the bread be the flesh, to eat the bread is the same act as to eat the flesh of Christ. Literally this cannot be, as Dr. Wiseman teaches in another place. Figuratively, it may be true. One of two inferences is, therefore, incontrovertible. Either the discourse does not refer to the Eucharist, or else Dr. Wiseman's redoubtable argument in defence of transubstantiation is subverted by the passage in which it is said, not "This is my flesh," but "The bread is my flesh," which, according to him, must be a figurative expression. The meaning is obvious if we observe what Jesus had said just before: "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life."

That these expressions are figurative, is apparent from another consideration. To eat the flesh of the Son of man is represented as absolutely necessary in obtaining spiritual life. "Except ye eat of the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Was there "no life" in any one of the disciples to whom Jesus

addressed these words? Not one of them had eaten the Lord's Supper. Had the ancient prophets and patriarchs "no life" in them, as they had never been partakers of the Eucharist? This verse, literally interpreted, excludes from the life of the blessed all who had ever lived when the words were spoken. But if, as we have observed, to eat the body of Christ is to feed the soul on the saving truth of his incarnation and death;—if to eat the flesh of his propitiatory sacrifice is to believe in the merit of his atoning death; then the patriarchs, by means of their types and promises, did eat of his flesh and drink of his blood; and to them, in a spiritual sense, "his flesh was meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed."

If any doubt remain, it may be obviated by carefully observing the connexion and design of our Lord's discourse. It was addressed to the multitude, to whom our Lord said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you." (John vi. 26, 27.) The signification of these words is obvious to a child. The bread was regarded as an emblem of spiritual good; the meat that perisheth, of the imperishable truth which sustains the believing spirit. This, I suppose, no Catholic will deny. However that may be, no ancient Christian father, whose authority Catholics profess to regard in the interpretation of Scripture, has ever denied it. The multitude, desiring a sign from Jesus, referred to the manna in the wilderness. "Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world." "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst."



(John vi. 32—35). This last verse clearly determines the meaning of the figure. Had the figure been entirely preserved, the words would have been, "He that eateth of me shall never hunger, and he that drinketh of me shall never thirst." To come to Christ is evidently the same thing as to eat of him; to believe on him is to drink of him. When Jesus added, "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world," "the Jews strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." (John vi. 51—53.) The connexion of the several parts of the discourse determines its entire meaning. The bread and the flesh of Christ are two designations of the same thing. To eat the flesh of Christ is to eat the true bread which came down from heaven; and to eat that bread is to believe the truth of Christ's sacrificial death, or of his flesh which he hath given for the life of the world.

To escape this interpretation, which so evidently appears in tracing the connexion of our Lord's discourse, Roman Catholic expositors usually divide it into two sections, or represent it as two discourses. The former section, which refers chiefly to the bread of life, they explain figuratively, just as we have done. The latter, referring to the flesh and blood of Christ, they expound literally, and adduce as a proof of the real presence. But such a division of this discourse is arbitrary, and unauthorized by anything in the discourse itself, or in the circumstances related by the evangelist. The connexion is preserved throughout. The figurative expressions, bread and flesh, are so blended as to render it certain they mean the same thing. At the words which intimately connect the two figures, "The bread is my flesh," there is no pause, no sudden transition to intimate that one discourse is finished and another

commenced. As Jesus begins by speaking of bread from heaven, and passes by an easy transition to the mention of flesh, he returns, at the conclusion of the discourse, to the original figure of bread: "This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead; he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." (John vi. 58.) Can any criticism be more rash and unwarrantable than that which divides into two a discourse so commencing and so concluding, and so closely connected throughout by the figure of eating Christ, either as bread or as flesh? But even if this division could be proved to be correct, the two discourses would be so much alike in their subject and expression, as to leave the figurative interpretation of both indisputably established.

Before we leave this discourse, we may inquire of Roman Catholics, How say you of withholding the cup from the laity? Dare you, contending for the strict literality of the words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," deprive a sinner of spiritual life by refusing to give him the blood of Christ? You reply, that the bread is changed into the whole person of Christ, including his blood with his body. But if it be so, the communicants cannot *drink* your consecrated wafer. The verse for the literality of which you contend, requires drinking as well as eating: but you give the faithful nothing to drink. You forbid your own communicants to do that which, on the literal, that is, on your own interpretation of our Lord's words, is indispensable to their obtaining everlasting life.

If the words of our Lord be figurative, they afford the most satisfactory illustration of the appropriate character of the sacramental emblems. As in the discourse of Jesus, our believing in his propitiatory death is figuratively described as eating his flesh, and drinking his blood; so in the commemorative ordinance we eat the bread which

represents his body, and drink the wine which represents his blood. The words of our Lord may be called sacramental, as well as the memorial which he ordained in his church. The words suggest to the imagination the same signs of eating and drinking, as the Lord's Supper brings before the senses. We commemorate the sacrificial death of Christ by emblems, which we prove to be appropriate, by appealing to the figurative language by which Jesus described the same act of faith as is represented in the emblems.

Having, in a previous Lecture, considered the argument adduced in favour of transubstantiation from the words of the institution, "This is my body;" we would, in leaving the only other passage of Scripture by which Romanists usually defend their doctrine, endeavour to complete the refutation by exposing, as may be done in a few words, the absolute incredibility and utter absurdity of that most pernicious dogma of the Romish Church.

What is the doctrine of transubstantiation which the Catholic Church requires us to believe, on the peril of our salvation? It is good for the world that the Romish Church is so bound to this doctrine, by its own public decrees and most solemn decisions, as to an absolute and unmitakeable truth, that its highest authorities cannot mitigate the absurdity, or afford the slightest relief to its harsh and repulsive shadows. However the minds of men may advance, and the utter incredibility of the doctrine become more manifest, as it must in the progress of knowledge, the Catholic Church is for ever bound to this doctrine by the clear logical definitions of the Council of Trent, as well as by all the dreadful anathemas which that venerable convocation could pronounce. Some other doctrines it may be able to modify, and some ecclesiastical practices it may change; but so decidedly is it committed to the doctrine of transubstantiation by the most formal and logical definitions, that it never can depart from its

present faith on that subject, without renouncing its claim to infallibility, and its confidence in the deliberate and solemn judgment of its highest court, pronounced upon a capital article of doctrine. That judgment, moreover, has been sustained by its succeeding acts; and all its controversial writers submit to the absurdity, rather than attempt any modification of the objectionable doctrine.

It is not very easy to find a decision of any assembly, ecclesiastical or secular, ancient or modern, which contains so much that is demonstrably false, palpably contradictory, and absolutely impossible, as the well-known decision of the Council of Trent on the subject of transubstantiation. Passing over the awfully blasphemous assertion, that in receiving the Eucharist the communicants receive the Divine nature of Christ as well as his human body and soul, let us confine our attention to the gross absurdities and contradictions of that canon which asserts the conversion of bread into the very body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, and died on the cross. The solemn decision of that infallible authority of the Catholic Church is, "There is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ, and a conversion of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is, by the Catholic Church, conveniently and properly denominated Transubstantiation." Council Trid. Sess. xiii. c. 4.

These words are evidently selected with the intention of asserting, expressly and unambiguously, the real and absolute change of all the consecrated bread into the very substance of the body of Christ, so that it becomes really and truly the whole person of the Son of God. In this assertion all Catholic authorities agree, and upon any who say that the substance of bread and wine remains after the consecration, the Council pronounces its solemn anathema. Sess. xiii. c. 2. Although the accidents and properties of bread appear, not a particle of the original substance re-



mains. The very Christ who died upon the cross, is upon the altar under the form of bread, and is offered by the priest again as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin.

What absurdities are implied in this decision of the Council, to which the Church of Rome is distinctly and undeniably committed!

If the bread be really and substantially converted into the very body of Christ, it is evident that, unless the body of Christ previously existing be annihilated, there necessarily exist, at the same time, two different bodies of Christ, and in like manner as many true bodies of Christ as have ever been produced by the conversion of sacramental bread.

If the bread be really and substantially converted into the very body of Christ, and nevertheless he have but one body, the body of Christ previously existing in heaven, and the body of Christ recently made by consecration of bread, are one and the same body, which is metaphysically impossible, for the one has, and the other has not, been transubstantiated in the sacrament.

If the bread be really and substantially converted into the very body of Christ, the body of Christ was not born of a woman; for to say that the very same body was both born of a woman and made from bread is plain and positive contradiction.

If the bread be truly and substantially converted into the very body of Christ, the substance of one thing is converted into the substance of another previously co-existing with it, and essentially different from it. To make them identical is absolutely impossible.

If the consecrated substance in the Eucharist have properties different from the properties of the body of Christ, it cannot be really and truly the very body of Christ. Things whose properties are different cannot be identical.

If the body of Christ be glorified in heaven, it cannot have the properties of bread; if it lie on the altar, having the form, and colour, and weight, and taste of bread, it has

the properties of bread. But the body of Christ cannot, at the same time, have the properties of bread and not have them.

If the substance of a thing be changed, its properties must be changed also, for the properties depend upon the substance, and belong to it. To assert, for instance, that a red substance is changed into a blue substance, and yet that it continues to reflect the red rays of light, is a plain and direct contradiction ; but it is not more so than to say that bread is changed into flesh, and yet that it retains the properties of bread.

If, as Catholic theologians and philosophers assert, the properties of bread remain after the substance is transubstantiated, and do not become the properties of the new body into which it is converted, there are properties of form, colour, weight, and many more, which do not belong to any substance ; not to the bread, for its substance no longer remains, nor to the body of Christ, for that has other and opposite properties. That is to say, they are properties of nothing ; that which has form, colour, and weight, like bread, is absolutely nothing.

If the bread be verily and indeed converted into the body of Christ, the definition of the consecrated substance is the definition of the body of Christ, for they are absolutely identical. But the consecrated substance was made from bread which had been previously flour, and still earlier wheat. The body of Christ, therefore, has been grown in the fields, and gathered into barns, and ground into flour, and kneaded into dough, and baked into bread ! It is easy to mention a multitude of particulars, which prove the absolute and indestructible difference between a loaf of bread and the body of Christ.

If the bread be verily and indeed converted into the body of Christ, the one indivisible body of Christ is in different places, as well as in different forms, at the same time ; in heaven, in the form of a glorified man, and on as many

altars of earth, under the form and semblance of bread, as there are priests consecrating the elements at the same time.

If the body of Christ cannot be annihilated, it must exist in every particle of matter which has ever been consecrated, and in whatever place any such particle may now be found. The body of Christ, therefore, is continually augmenting by repeated consecrations, and may, in remote ages, consist of no inconsiderable part of the surface of the earth.

If, as Catholics affirm, every particle of the consecrated bread becomes the whole and complete person of Christ, and the whole wafer, and all the wafers consecrated with it, and even all the bread ever consecrated through all the world, form no more than the one body of Christ, it follows that the part is as great as the whole—one particle as great as the whole wafer—one wafer as great as all the consecrated bread in the world.

But who is not weary of exposing such contradictions, absurdities, and impossibilities? No logical nor mathematical demonstration can be more certainly true, than is any one of the several demonstrations of the absolute impossibility of converting the substance of bread into the previously existing substance of the body of the Lord Jesus. The Romish Church arrived at this decision in a dark age, and, as it is now irrevocable, it will sooner or later, in the progress of philosophical inquiry, effectually refute every pretension of that Church to infallibility.

I know not how far the distinction between theology and philosophy, which some Catholics have pleaded in reference to certain scientific truths, pronounced heretical by the authorities of their own church may satisfy their minds in respect to the doctrine of transubstantiation. They profess to believe that the same doctrine may be theologically true, and philosophically false. But is not this mode of satisfying an unquiet and doubting spirit almost as ab-

surd as transubstantiation itself? And, moreover, is it not immoral and treacherous to the claims of rectitude, by confusing and concealing the great and everlasting distinction between truth and falsehood? The only inquiry to which a candid and honest answer can be given is, What is the absolute truth? When that is ascertained, it ought to rule with despotic authority both theology and philosophy. Is the bread really and truly converted by the act of consecration into the body, soul, and divinity of our blessed Lord? If it be, transubstantiation is philosophically true, as well as theologically. If it be not, transubstantiation is theologically false as well as philosophically. As the undoubted doctrine of the Catholic Church is that such a conversion is really and truly effected, he is not an honest disciple of Catholic authority, nor an honourable adherent to the sacred cause of truth, who, believing that no such conversion is really accomplished, professes to believe that it is done theologically. So miserable a subterfuge, so dishonourable to the cause of religion, would be unworthy of serious refutation, were there not reason to suspect that it has considerable influence in allaying the doubts of some avowed, although not very consistent Catholics.

But if the words of Jesus, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life," do not prove the doctrine of transubstantiation, they afford no support to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, nor to any other form in which the theory of the real presence has been maintained. We have already noticed the influence of this passage in inducing Calvin to represent, in opposition to Zwingle, the Lord's Supper as something more than a sacred symbol,—as the appointed means by which believers are incorporated with Christ, and derive spiritual life from his real though spiritual presence. That believers derive from Christ all for which Calvin contended,



is assuredly true ; but if these sayings of Jesus have no direct reference to the Lord's Supper, as we have already proved, they teach us that the spiritual acts figuratively called eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man, are the continual and necessary means of supporting the Christian life. Those spiritual acts were performed by all true believers before the institution of the Lord's Supper, as well as since that memorable night in which he was betrayed. They have been the nourishment of the spiritual life to believers in all ages, and to none but believers, whether they have, or have not, been partakers of the Eucharist. We must not limit to the occasion of an external service, nor confine to the persons engaged in it, the express and solemn declaration of our blessed Lord, which absolutely and peremptorily excludes from eternal life all who do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood.\*

In confirmation of these views, we may examine the manner in which the several figures are connected, and made to illustrate each other, in the structure of our Lord's discourse at Capernaum. The connexion suggests a view of the most important doctrines of the gospel, to which the several emblems of the Lord's Supper are remarkably appropriate. To eat the flesh of Christ is, according to the language of this discourse, the same thing as to eat the bread which he gave them ; and to eat the bread is the same thing as to believe on him to life everlasting.

\* Some Lutheran divines, and critics inclined to Lutheran views, interpret this discourse of our Lord figuratively, and admit that it has no direct reference to the Lord's supper. Neander thus interprets the words, "The bread which I will give is my flesh :"—"This bread was to be the self-sacrifice of his bodily life for the salvation of mankind. The life-giving power, as such, was his divine-human existence ; the life-giving power, in its special act, was his self-sacrifice. The two are inseparable, the latter being the essential means of realizing the former. Only by his self-sacrifice could his divine-human life become the bread of life for men. I cannot find in the words of Christ the Lutheran realism, so called."—*Life of Jesus*. Section 178. M'Clintock and Blumenthal's Translation.

Of all this, the symbols of the Lord's Supper afford the most appropriate illustration.

When Jesus said, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world," he indisputably refers to his death as a voluntary sacrifice for mankind. In what other possible sense could he give his flesh for the life of the world? At the institution of the sacramental service in commemoration of his death, on distributing the bread, he said, "Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you." The coincidence of the two sayings of our Lord is too obvious to be overlooked. The giving of his flesh for the life of the world, and the giving of his body for his disciples, are manifestly the same donation. Without this giving of his flesh, or of his body, there could have been no life for the world. "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die." Death is averted from men by the giving of the flesh of Christ for their life; in other words, by Christ dying to redeem them from death. The saving truth thus taught, must be personally received, made our own, become a life within us, as if it were a part of ourselves. We must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, or we have no life in us. But how is the truth to be received and appropriated, so as to become the sustenance of the spiritual life, and assimilated to the soul itself? This can be done only by our believing the truth. Truth believed is *in* the soul, influencing the judgment, the affections, the whole heart and life of the believer. Truth which men do not believe, is no more profitable to their souls, than bread which they do not eat, is to their bodies. Thus believing the true doctrine of the body and blood of Christ, given for the life of men, we obtain everlasting life. The general interpretation of the sacramental service is thus supplied by our Lord himself, and the appropriateness of the several parts may be easily discovered. In the commemor-

ation, as the apostle teaches, we have to discern the Lord's body, for he who does not discern the Lord's body, eats and drinks unworthily.

The bread representing the body of Christ, readily suggests the interpretation of the several parts of the sacramental service. Being broken, it intimates that the body of Christ was put to a violent death. Being distributed, it shows that his body was given for us, or that the benefits of his death are bestowed upon us. But, as we have already seen, the body of Christ represents the great saving truth associated with his death,—his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. Receiving the bread, we express by that sign our belief of the truth; and eating it, our appropriation of the truth to ourselves, as the sustenance of our spiritual life. Without that great truth, we are represented as spiritually dead, but with it, as living for ever. Nor is the cup without its mystic signification. As the blood of a sacrifice was considered of great importance, and was poured out before the altar, or sprinkled upon it, in attestation of the death of the victim, so this symbol occupies an important place in the commemoration of the sacrificial death of the Lord Jesus. Of the wine Jesus said: "This is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Representing his blood, it is the attesting sign of his sacrificial death. Drinking the wine, we express our belief in his propitiatory sacrifice for the remission of our sins. The thanksgivings and praises which are introduced into the service, are appropriate to the commemoration of that great act of love by which we are redeemed from death. Every part of the ordinance is thus emblematical, and every emblem is peculiarly appropriate.

That the Lord's Supper was appointed not only for a commemoration of the death of Christ, but also for an emblematical representation of our partaking of its blessings by an appropriating act of faith, may be inferred from the

words with which the Apostle Paul concludes his account of the institution: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, not discerning the Lord's body." 1 Cor. xi. 26—29.

This awful denunciation of those who partake of the Lord's Supper without discerning the Lord's body, is not without instruction. Such a profanation is represented as involving the guilt of desecrating the body and blood of Christ, and as bringing upon the offender the righteous judgment of God. What is this great criminal deficiency of not discerning the Lord's body? No communicants in the Corinthian church could have been so unchristian as to deny the fact of the death of Christ, or to refuse to acknowledge it in the service especially appointed for its commemoration. In that general sense, all the communicants undoubtedly discerned the Lord's body. But if the service included not only a memorial of the death of Christ, but an emblem of the reception of its spiritual benefits by the communicants, all who did not act in accordance with their own professions, by truly receiving the benefits of Christ's death, and believing on him for the life of their souls, were guilty of profane mockery by unworthily uniting in such a symbolical service. Their own hearts contradicted their solemn acts. Who has required this at their hands? They were guilty of making use of the emblems of Christ's body and blood, while they disregarded the precious blessings and solemn obligations of his death. By so doing, they incurred what is elsewhere called "the sorer punishment" of "counting the blood of the covenant an unholy thing." They put from themselves the great salvation, when it was proposed for their reception in the



most affecting manner, and its authorized symbols in their own hands represented Jesus Christ evidently set forth crucified for them. By so obstinate an unbelief in “not discerning the Lord’s body,” they imprecated the judgment of God upon themselves. But only upon the admission that the sacrifice of the body of Christ for our sins is represented in the emblems of the Lord’s Supper, as proposed for our acceptance, can we see the propriety of attributing to unworthy communicants the guilt “of the body and blood of the Lord.”

There is another text which may be cited in support of the doctrine of an emblematical representation, and which also suggests a secondary, though not unimportant meaning of the emblems: “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread” (loaf), “and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread” (loaf). 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

The interpretation of these verses depends upon the meaning of the word “communion” (*κοινωνία*). They have been cited in defence of the opinion, that in the Lord’s Supper we become incorporate with Christ; and were adduced by Calvin to justify his opposition to the more simple doctrine of the Eucharist, proposed by Zwingle. To authorize the translation which this sense requires, that is, incorporation—The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the incorporation of the blood of Christ? The body which we break, is it not the incorporation of the body of Christ?—no good example can be adduced. But the word often denotes participation. Thus we find in the New Testament, “the participation (*κοινωνία*) of the Holy Spirit,”—“the participation (*κοινωνία*) of sufferings.” This usual signification is exactly in accordance with all we have said: “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the participation of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of Christ?” But the cup and the

bread can be the participation of the blood and body of Christ only in an emblematical sense. They are the emblems, as we partake of them, of our participation of the blessings procured by the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, offered for the sins of the world, or of our personal interest in his propitiatory death.

A secondary interpretation of the emblems is suggested by the words, "For we being many are one loaf and one body: for we are all partakers of that one loaf." The word "partake" (*μετέχομεν*) supports the interpretation which has been given of the word *κοινωνία* in the preceding verse. Although the one loaf is primarily the emblem of the body of Christ, yet, as we all partake of it, it is made, in a secondary sense, the sign of the unity of the communicants, or of the Christian church. They "being many are one" in Christ, having a common interest in the one body of their Saviour, as the one fellowship of saints, the one family of God, nourished by the same spiritual food. Eating of one loaf and drinking of one cup, they ought to regard the communion service as the sign and pledge of their fraternal love. Such is the practical lesson of a service, primarily intended to commemorate the love of Christ in laying down his life for us.

And if we thus partake of one bread and one cup, to represent our living by faith on the sacrifice of Christ, and our union in the fellowship of his saints, the service also becomes a visible sign of our professed separation from the fellowship of an ungodly world. United to Christ with his saints in these solemnities, we acknowledge our obligation to separate ourselves from all that is opposed to his holy will. How can we be at once united to him and to the things he disapproves? "Ye cannot," says the apostle, making this application of the sacramental emblems, "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot partake of the Lord's table and the table of devils." This appeal is obviously of a very extensive range and

application. Ye cannot have communion with the body and blood of Christ, and at the same time partake of the works of the devil. Such inconsistency is not confined to the temples of idols. Immorality is quite as much the work of the devil as idolatry. Wherever the inconsistency appears, it is a profanation of the cup and table of the Lord, and brings upon the communicants the guilt of those who, eating and drinking unworthily, are "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord."

Although the denunciations of the apostle are not to be divested of the terrors in which he has clothed them, we ought to be solicitous to remove every obstacle in the way of the communion of all believers, even of those who are weak in the faith. The Lord's table is, we admit, protected from the profane intrusion of ungodly men; by terrors far more awful than those which guarded Sinai, when the Lord gave his holy law to the people of Israel; but these terrible sanctions are not intended to deter any who are willing to obey Christ as their Lord and Saviour. Although Moses at the mount "did exceedingly fear and quake" at "so terrible a sight," yet he proceeded to converse with God amidst the clouds and storm. So all who sincerely desire to commemorate the death of Christ, and to live consistently with that commemoration, may safely proceed, in humble dependence upon the gracious assistance of God, to eat and drink the symbols of the body and blood of their adorable Redeemer. The memorials of his death are committed to all believers, and they are solemnly charged to perpetuate the commemorative rite. To so solemn a charge, none can be unfaithful without incurring proportionate guilt. The man who cannot discern the Lord's body, is prohibited from eating its symbol; because such a man is an unbeliever, and excluded, not only from the communion of saints on earth, but also from the hope of communion with Christ in heaven. But can any thoughtful man be content to remain in a state of exclusion from the

hope of eternal life? All who are justified in acting upon the presumption, that they are Christ's disciples in the ordinary course of their lives, are included in the kind invitation and the solemn charge of their Lord, to show his death until he come. If the fear of displeasing the Lord deters any true disciples from approaching his table, with more reason may they fear to live in the continual neglect of the express command, or rather the dying request, which Jesus gave to his disciples, that while he is absent, they should perpetuate the memory of his unexampled love, in giving his body and blood for the life of the world. Or if any are afraid, on reasonable grounds, of becoming unworthy communicants, they ought rather to tremble at the terrors of an inquiry which is heard far from the table of the Lord, as well as near to it, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?"

Nor dare we attempt to form a proportionate estimate of the guilt of eating and drinking unworthily, and of not eating and drinking at all. The believer ought to avoid both transgressions of Christ's law. By God's help he can eat and drink worthily; and therefore he ought not to make his own culpable unworthiness an excuse for the neglect of positive duty. How often do we pray unworthily! Is that a reason for our never praying at all? And as to the unbeliever, he has a far more solemn account to give than that which relates to the external forms of the Christian faith.

We have endeavoured carefully to examine such evidence as the New Testament supplies, respecting the nature and design of the Lord's Supper. Here we may close the inquiry, in so far as authority is concerned; for we are not to be tempted to consult any other testimony as an authoritative rule of faith upon this subject. "To the law and to the testimony:" if later writers "speak not according to their word, it is because there is no light in them." It may, however, be expected that, in closing this inquiry, some references should be made to such notices of the



Lord's Supper in the earlier fathers, as may illustrate the opinions of a comparatively purer age of the church, and in some degree explain the causes of the grievous corruptions which prevailed in subsequent times. For this purpose, a brief notice of a few passages bearing on the principal points of dispute, may be quite sufficient.

The two great corruptions of the Lord's Supper, which we have had occasion especially to notice and expose, are the solemnizing of it as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men, and the regarding of the elements as truly converted into the body and blood of Christ. These corruptions are intimately connected with the mysterious power of the priesthood; for, unless the body and blood of Christ were really present, the priest would have, in the mere bread and wine, only a thank-offering, and not a propitiation for sin, to present unto God. Meat and drink alone cannot be a propitiatory sacrifice of any worth.

On looking through the earlier ecclesiastical writers, and even those of considerably later date, we cannot but observe how frequently they speak of the elements as being, after consecration, bread and wine. The communicants are continually said to receive bread and wine—to eat bread, and to drink wine. But we may well inquire, If these writers had believed the doctrine of transubstantiation, would they have ventured to call the true body and blood of Christ by the names of bread and wine?

It is true that early ecclesiastical writers often called the elements of the sacrament the body and blood of Christ; but it is obvious that if they also called them bread and wine after the consecration, they must, in one instance or the other, have spoken figuratively. Catholics are as ready as Protestants to deny that the same thing can be, at the same time, both bread and flesh, or wine and blood. Is it more probable that the fathers should figuratively have called the bread by the name of the flesh or the body, of which it was the accredited symbol, or figuratively have

called the flesh of Christ by the name of bread after its conversion into flesh, which conversion must have been the most important and awful fact in the mysterious celebration? Reverently they might have called bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: irreverent it would seem to have called the true body and precious blood of Christ by the names of bread and wine. This remark is chiefly applicable to those passages in which the consecrated elements are called bread and wine, irrespective of any reference which may illustrate their real nature and substance.

Nor is this remark unimportant in the opinion of Roman Catholic theologians. A cursory glance over their criticisms on these passages, will show how ready they always are to offer some excuse for the inadvertency of the fathers in speaking of the Eucharist, and to take advantage of any faint shadow of a doubt, which may assist them to contend, however unfairly, that where bread and wine are mentioned, the consecrated elements were not intended to be described by those names. As an instance of such unfair attempts, we may notice the comments of Roman Catholic writers on a passage of Tertullian, in which he speaks of Christians as "grieved if any of the cup or the bread be spilled upon the ground."\* Although these words occur in the midst of references to the religious rites of the Christian church, the Roman Catholic annotators, Pamilius, La Cerda, and others, uniformly explain this bread and wine as if it denoted only common food, which Christians used frugally, carefully, and even reverently, as the gift of their heavenly Father. A reference to the original will show, that the context does not give the slightest authority to any such interpretation. But so desirous are Catholic writers to evade, by any pretext, the several instances in

\* De Corona, c. 3. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. The use of the word "calix" confirms the opinion that the Eucharist is here meant. See the annotations of Roman Catholics on the whole chapter.

which the consecrated elements are called bread and wine by the early ecclesiastical writers. We have already observed at some length how Dr. Wiseman, in his *Lectures on Transubstantiation*, insists upon the fact, as of great importance in this controversy, that Jesus said, not "*This bread*," but only "*This is my body*;" thus intentionally avoiding to call the substance which he held in his hand by the name of bread.

After the manner of the Apostle Paul, who said, "*The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*" and again, "*Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread*;" ecclesiastical writers of the highest authority, even in the estimation of Romanists, expressly and frequently call the consecrated elements bread and wine. I have already intimated that I can place no confidence in the present epistles of Ignatius; but Romanists do cite them in defence of their doctrines, and therefore we may quote them as argument *ad hominem*. Besides, to those who do not credit their genuineness, they show the manner in which the Eucharist was described at the early period of the interpolation, or the forgery. Ignatius says, or is made to say by an early ecclesiastic, "*I desire the heavenly bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ*," (ad Rom. c. vii.); and again, "*Breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality*" (ad Eph. c. xx.). In these phrases the language is evidently figurative. But when the same substance is called both bread and the flesh of Christ, can there be any doubt which word is to be interpreted figuratively, and which literally? That bread should be figuratively called the flesh of Christ, of which it is the appropriate sign, will be readily admitted by every candid reader. But that the true flesh of Christ, after every particle of bread is destroyed, should be figuratively called bread, is totally inexplicable. What would be the propriety or use of such a figure? To call the true body of Christ bread, because it was once bread, would be

like calling the wine at the marriage-feast in Cana, water after the conversion ; or calling a man a child, because he was once a child. Such an arbitrary substitution of words corresponds with the figurative language of no people upon earth.

We have in a previous Lecture cited the passages of Justin Martyr, in which he represents the deacons, after the offering of praise and thanksgiving by the president, as distributing to all present, and carrying to the absent, the bread, and wine, and water. In another place he says, "The offering of flour, which was appointed to be offered for those cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist (τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας), which Jesus Christ our Lord committed to us, to observe for a memorial of his suffering, which he endured for those men who are cleansed in their souls from all wickedness." (Dial. cum Tryph. c. 41.) According to this passage, bread was offered for a memorial of Christ's suffering, not a sacrifice for sins, and of that bread the offering of flour in the Jewish ritual was an appropriate emblem. The offering of the true body of Christ is utterly inconsistent with the representation which Justin gives, of the resemblance between the Jewish rite and the Christian commemoration.

With the same figurative signification Irenæus represents the bread as the body of Christ: "That bread over which thanks are offered is the body of Christ." (Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. 34.) "Taking bread the Lord acknowledged it for his body, and the mixture of the cup he declared to be his blood." (Ibid. c. 57.) How Irenæus understood the bread to be the body of Christ may admit of some explanation from other statements, in which he says, that "the bread receiving the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist ;" and again, that "receiving the Word (λόγον) of God it becomes the Euchar-



ist, which is the body and blood of Christ." (Ibid. lib. v. c. 2.)

Both Tertullian (Adv. Jud.) and Cyprian (Ep. ad Magnum, lxix.) say that "Christ called the bread his body." But if he did so, he must have spoken figuratively; for, according to Cardinal Wiseman, bread cannot be the body of Christ. Cyprian expounds his own meaning; for, having said that "It was wine which Christ called his blood," he afterwards observes, "In the wine *was shown* the blood of Christ." (Ep. ad Cæcil. lxiii.) These and similar phrases in the early fathers are easily interpreted by the help of Clement of Alexandria, who says, "The wine is a mystic sign of the sacred blood." (Pædag. lib. ii. c. 2.) Many similar phrases may be produced from Augustine,\* Jerome,† Gregory of Nyssa,‡ and succeeding ecclesiastical writers, from which it undeniably appears that, without scruple or hesitation, they call the elements after consecration, when distributed, received, and eaten or drunk, bread and wine. The principle is thus stated by Facundus:—"The sacrament of adoption (baptism) may be called adoption: so the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which is the consecration in the bread and cup, we call his body and blood; not because the bread is properly his body and the cup his blood, but because they contain in themselves the mystery of his body and blood. Hence also the Lord himself called the consecrated bread, which he delivered to his disciples, his own body and blood."§ The same explanation is found in a fragment of the old Latin version of an epistle of Chrysostom: ¶ "For as, before the bread is consecrated, we call it bread, but by the divine grace consecrating it,

\* Enarr. in Psalm cxlvii.

† Epis. Hedlb. cl. quæst. 2.

‡ In Bapt. Christ.

§ Facund. Herm. Defen. pro Tribus Capitulis Concilii Chalced. lib. ix. c. 3, cited in Routh, Opuscula, vol. ii. p. 497.

¶ Routh, Opuscula, vol. ii. p. 483.

through the mediating priest, it is freed from the name of bread, and is accounted worthy of the name of the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it, and not two bodies, but one body of the Son is mentioned." In like manner Theodoret says, in an extract cited by Routh,\* "He who called his natural body corn and bread, and again named himself a vine, honoured the visible symbols by the name of his body and blood, not changing their nature, but adding grace to their nature." We can thus understand why the fathers, not believing in transubstantiation, should have called the bread and wine by the names of the body and blood of Christ. But if they believed in transubstantiation, it is inexplicable that they should so frequently have called the true substance of the body and blood of Christ by the names of bread and wine.

But it must be acknowledged that they have said other things of the sacramental elements, which they unscrupulously call bread and wine; and as their sayings are opposed to the simplicity of our doctrine, it would be unfair to leave them without further notice.

A remarkable passage is found in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans (c. 6). Occurring in that apocryphal letter, it may be thought of very little importance; but it deserves attention, on account of its resemblance to other representations, which are found in the acknowledged writings of the early fathers. I therefore adduce the words, not as those of Ignatius, but as representing the language which was prevalent at an early age of the church. Speaking of certain heretics, the writer says: "They abstain from the Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins, and whom the Father raised by his goodness." Does this writer mean, that the Eucharist represented the flesh of Christ, or that it really was the flesh of Christ? We have observed the principle

\* Opuscula, vol. ii. p. 487.

on which the fathers called the bread by the name of the body of Christ. It may possibly be said, that more is here intended, because these heretics are charged with denying "the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour;" and therefore the words of the writer cannot be figurative. Yet a passage from Tertullian, referring to these same heretics, and confuting them by the language used in the celebration of the Eucharist, confirms the figurative interpretation: "But Christ, having taken the bread and given it to his disciples, made it his body—*that is, the figure of his body*. But it could not have been a figure, unless the body were true; for an empty form, which is a phantasm, could not have been a figure." (*Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv. c. 40.) To the same purpose may be cited a passage from a work, in reply to the same heretics, formerly ascribed to Origen, although now generally considered to be spurious:—"If Christ, as these men say, had neither flesh nor blood, of what sort of flesh, or of what body, or of what blood, did he give the images (*εἰκόνας*), when he gave the bread and wine to his disciples?"\* It appears, therefore, to have been usual to refute the objections of those heretics who denied that Christ possessed a true body, by referring to the bread and wine of the Eucharist as the figures or images of his body, which must have consisted of flesh and blood, or the figures would have been egregiously inappropriate. Bread and wine cannot be the appropriate signs of a spirit having neither flesh nor blood.<sup>1</sup>

But if these passages be not sufficient to explain the words, "they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour," that is, the figure of his flesh, we may consider the doctrine of this brief sentence to be more fully developed in the well-known representation of Justin Martyr, with which correspond in expression several passages of the early ecclesiastical writers. He says: "For not as common food nor common drink do we receive these

\* *Dialogus contra Marcionitas*. Lcc. iv. p. 116, ed. Wetstenii.

things; but in what manner, through the Word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, having become incarnate, had flesh and blood for our salvation; so likewise we have been taught, that the eucharistic food, by the prayer of the word from him, by which our flesh and blood are nourished by a transmutation, are the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus.\* He cites, in proof of this statement, the words of Jesus: "This is my body;" "This is my blood." The correct interpretation of this passage is of great importance, as upon it very much depends the meaning of similar statements in other ecclesiastical writers. The controvertists of all parties—Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists—have appealed to it in defence of their respective doctrines. Neander considers it as most favourable to the Lutherans; and Semisch, in his "Account of Justin Martyr," is, though with some hesitation, of the same opinion.†

On considering the words of Justin, we perceive that they are expressed, as if the writer were carefully defining his meaning, and illustrating it by a comparison. It is obvious that the phrase, "by a transmutation" (κατὰ μεταβολὴν) refers to our flesh and blood being nourished by the eucharistic food, not to any change in the food itself before it is eaten. This is so evident, that Catholic writers can scarcely be acquitted of disingenuousness in appealing to this phrase in proof of transubstantiation. But by what kind of transmutation are "our flesh and blood nourished

\* Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.—Apol. ii. 66.

† "Neither the Catholic, nor the Lutheran, nor the Reformed doctrine finds a guarantee in Justin. But in the language of this father there is something which each of those churches may, with some plausibility, claim for itself."—Semisch, Justin Martyr.—*Ryland's Translation*, vol. ii. p. 340.

Neander finds in Justin the representation of a connexion, and penetration of the substance of the body and blood of Christ, with the substance of the bread and wine, though not decidedly in the Lutheran sense. See Semisch, vol. ii. p. 339.



by the eucharistic food?" Did Justin refer to the natural assimilation of food through the process of digestion, in the same manner as if he had been speaking of common bread and wine? Although some Protestant writers have so expounded the passage, it appears to me very improbable that he should have referred to such a process in speaking of the eucharistic bread and wine, which he had just before described as "not common bread nor common drink." The true exposition of the passage is, I am inclined to think, to be found in the opinion, which was prevalent at a very early age, that the eucharistic food, becoming incorporated with the bodies of the communicants, imparted to them a new principle of life, by which they became immortal, or at least were prepared for the resurrection of the just. Such an incorporation might well be called "a transmutation," by which "our flesh and blood are nourished." Thus, in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, the writer (whoever he was) calls the broken bread "the medicine of immortality, and the antidote against death, so that they live in Christ Jesus for ever" (c. 20). But more to the purpose is a passage of Irenæus, who says, "As bread from earth is, on receiving the invocation of God, no longer common bread, but Eucharist, consisting of two substances, the earthly and the heavenly, so our bodies, partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of the everlasting resurrection."\*

Two passages so similar, in ecclesiastical writers so nearly contemporaneous as Justin and Irenæus, should illustrate each other. The meaning of Irenæus is indisputable. Making him the interpreter of Justin, I am confirmed in the opinion before expressed, that the doctrine of both fathers was, that the elements of the Eucharist be-

\* Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. 34.—Ὡς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου, οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα.

came, by a transmutation, an incorruptible principle in the bodies of the saints, by which they were sustained to everlasting life. But whatever this transmutation may have been, it was evidently not the transubstantiation of the bread and wine, but a change on their becoming incorporated with our bodies. The same sentiment is expressed by later writers, as by Gregory of Nyssa (Catech. Orat. c. 37).

But it is undeniable that Justin calls the eucharistic food the flesh and blood of Jesus; and the connexion will scarcely allow us to interpret his language as if it were only figurative. How, then, is he to be understood? Irenæus, in the passage already cited, represents the bread of the Eucharist as "consisting of two things—the earthly and the heavenly." However favourable this may seem to the Lutheran notion of consubstantiation, it is evidently opposed to the Catholic doctrine of a complete transubstantiation of the earthly into the heavenly. But Justin supplies an explanation which, however obscure and perplexing it may seem, is clearly opposed to both the Lutheran and the Catholic doctrine. His illustration may be found in the clause already cited: "In what manner, through the Word (*διὰ λόγου*), Jesus Christ our Saviour became incarnate, . . . so likewise we have been taught that the eucharistic food . . . is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus." How, we inquire, according to the opinion of that age, did Jesus Christ become incarnate through the word of God? The answer may be found in Tertullian: "How was the Word made flesh? Was he transfigured into flesh, or did he put on flesh? Doubtless he put it on; for we must believe that God is immutable, and incapable of being transformed, as he is eternal: for transfiguration is a destruction of what before existed." (Adv. Prax. c. 27.) In the incarnation there was not a transubstantiation of the Word into flesh, but an assumption of flesh by the Word. In accordance with this doc-

trine, Justin says: "Through the word of God, Jesus Christ *had* flesh and blood," not *was* flesh and blood.

But Justin continues to teach that, "As, through the Logos, Jesus Christ our Saviour, becoming incarnate, had flesh and blood; so, likewise, we have been taught that the eucharistic food is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus." To interpret this passage correctly, we must ascertain the meaning of the comparison implied in the phrase "so likewise." As in the incarnation the Logos assumed flesh or human nature for his body, the comparison suggests that "so likewise" the Logos, in the Eucharist, assumes the bread and wine into a peculiar and mysterious connexion with himself, so that these elements united to him, by means of the Logos or Divine nature, are called "his body and blood." That Justin believed that the bread and wine actually became flesh and blood, is not necessarily inferred from these words, nor is it in accordance with other passages, in which he speaks of the consecrated elements as being still bread and wine. Certainly, he could not have believed that the body which was assumed by the Logos from the sacramental bread and wine, was that very identical body of human flesh which suffered and died upon the cross. Such a transubstantiation is contrary to the representation of this passage, as well as to some other representations of those early times. Justin seems to have believed in a kind of repetition of the embodiment of the Logos in the sacrament, by the assumption of material bread and wine into mysterious union with the Divine nature. As in the incarnation the human nature, so in the sacrament the material bread, became a kind of dwelling for the Logos. That embodiment, if he believed that the bread became flesh, might be called an incarnation. But if he believed, as we suppose, that the bread retained its own nature on being united with the Logos, it might be called by the barbarous word (we know no better) of impanition—the union with bread. The

transmutation of this body of Christ into the flesh of those worthily eating of it, was supposed to impart immortality, or a preparation for immortality, to their mortal bodies. I am the more inclined to attribute this doctrine to Justin, as well as to Irenæus, at least in its milder form, not only because it agrees best with their representations, but also because it seems to have been, as we infer from the language of other fathers, the earliest form in which the doctrine of a real presence was acknowledged in the Christian church.

Although this representation implies the real presence of a body of Christ in the Eucharist received and eaten by the faithful, it does not imply the presence of *that* body of Christ which was born of the Virgin and offered upon the cross. A new body is supposed, in every consecration, to be assumed by the Saviour. It is, therefore, essentially different from both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, which imply the presence of the identical body which was crucified for sin. Nor is the connexion of the bread, as in consubstantiation, with the body of Christ, but with the Logos, or Divine Spirit. A still milder form of this doctrine is, that the sacramental food, not on its consecration, but on its assimilation into flesh in the bodies of the faithful, is then assumed into especial union with the Divine Logos; and so in a sense more than figurative, our bodies are united to Christ by eating his flesh and drinking his blood. Although this theory may be reconciled with the words of Justin, it cannot with those of later ecclesiastical writers. On considering some of the expressions which Calvin used in opposing the views of Zwingli, when he speaks of a real, though spiritual, presence of Christ in the elements,—of the faithful becoming incorporated with Christ by eating his flesh and drinking his blood,—I have sometimes thought that the illustrious reformer held some such doctrine as that of the early fathers. But his language on other occasions is so



different as to induce me rather to acquiesce in the views already expressed, that his difference with Zwingle and the Sacramentarians was verbal rather than real, and that it arose from his desire, in the peculiar position which he occupied, to appear as nearly as possible in accordance with the Lutherans.

In an extract we have given from Irenæus, in which he describes "the Eucharist as consisting of two things—the heavenly and the earthly," he evidently supposed that the substance of the bread from the earth remained as an earthly substance, although in connexion with the heavenly. This is certainly not the doctrine of transubstantiation, which annihilates the earthly; nor do we think that its apparent accordance with consubstantiation will bear the test of a comparison with the words of Justin Martyr. Some such opinion as I have attributed to Justin and Irenæus, seems to have been held by Clement of Alexandria, when he spoke of the "twofold nature of the blood of Christ—the bodily and the spiritual." (*Pædag. lib. ii. c. 2.*) Tertullian has some expressions which correspond with this opinion; as when he says, "Moreover his body is accounted to be in the bread, in the words, 'This is my body.'" (*De Orat. c. 6.*) But in several other passages, of which we have already cited some, he distinctly says, "The bread represents Christ's body." (*Adv. Marc. lib. i. c. 14.*) And again, "Christ in saying, 'This is my body,' meant the figure of his body." (*Ibid. lib. iv. c. 40.*) So Cyprian says, "In the wine was shown the blood of Christ." (*Ep. ad Cæcil. lxiii.*) Similar testimonies against transubstantiation may be cited from Cyril of Jerusalem, who says, "Under the type of bread, the body is given to thee, and under the type of wine the blood," (*Catech. Myst. iv. sect. 3;*) from Athanasius, who says, "Our Lord made a difference between the flesh and the spirit, that those who believe not only what is visible, but what is unseen, might learn that he spake not of carnal,

but of spiritual things. For how many men could his body have been sufficient for food, that it should become the nourishment of the whole world? But on this account he mentioned the passage of the Son of man to heaven, that they might avoid the carnal understanding, and learn that the flesh mentioned is heavenly and spiritual food from above, given by himself. 'For the words that I have spoken unto you,' he says, 'are spirit and life:' as if he had said, 'My body, which is shown and given for the world, shall be given as food, that it may be distributed spiritually to every one, and become to them all the preservation to the resurrection of everlasting life.' (In illud Evangelii, *Quicumque dixerit verbum*, &c. Matt. xii. 32.) From the acts of the Council of Nice: "Let not our thoughts keep poorly (*ταπεινῶς*) to the bread and cup set before us; but raising our minds by faith, let us contemplate being before that sacred table, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." From Gregory of Nyssa: "As the sacred altar by which we stand is stone, according to its nature, common, and nothing differing from other slabs which build our walls, but when it is consecrated for the service of God, and receives a blessing, it is a holy table, a pure altar; so the bread is at first common, but when it is mysteriously consecrated, is both called and becomes the body of Christ." (Orat. in Bapt. Christi.) Here the change of the bread into the body of Christ is like the change of common stone into a sacred and pure altar; not a change of substance, and therefore not transubstantiation. So Ambrose (De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 4, sect. 14), and Chrysostom (in Matt. xxvi. 35), compare the change in the bread and wine, on consecration, to the change of a carnal man into a new creature by the grace of baptism. In the works of Augustine are many passages agreeing with his testimony already cited: "In Sacraments is to be regarded, not what they are, but what they show, for they are signs, being one thing, but signifying

another." (*Contra Maximinum*, iii. 22, 3.) "Let no one look to what they are, but rather to what they are the signs, that is, what they signify." (*De Doctrina Christi*, ii. 1, 1.) Of Theodoret we may refer to a passage already cited, and to another of similar import: "Our Saviour changed the names, and to his body applied the name of the symbol, and to the symbol that of his body." (*Dial.* i. p. 17, ed. 1642.) Passages of similar effect are adduced by Bishop Cosin, in his "*History of Transubstantiation*;" from Gelasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Ephrem of Antioch, Isidore of Hispal, and others, down to the eighth century, when we find our countryman, the venerable Bede, retaining the ancient faith in the figures of the Sacrament: "In the place of the flesh and blood of the lamb, Christ substituted the sacrament of his flesh and blood." (*Comm.* in *Luc.* xxii.) Again, "At the sacred supper he delivered to his disciples the figure of his holy body and blood." (*Comm.* in *Psa.* iii.)

From no authentic writings earlier than the ninth century can there be produced any clear testimony in favour of that which may be fairly called the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. And even in the book of Paschasius, a monk of Corbey, who is usually considered the earliest defender of transubstantiation, it is doubtful whether he received the whole doctrine as it was long afterwards enjoined by the Council of Trent. Although he maintained the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in a more gross and offensive manner than any preceding writer, and in terms which nearly approach to, although they do not actually express, the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation,\* yet passages of an opposite tendency have been adduced from his writings by Cosin and others. Thus he is cited as saying, "Christ left us

\* "*Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt.*"—Paschasius, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, cited in Cosin. New Edition, p. 116.

this sacrament, a visible figure and character of his body and blood, that by them our spirits might the better embrace spiritual and invisible things, and be more fully fed by faith." Again, "The flesh and blood of Christ are not received carnally but spiritually." No Romanist would call the sacrament "the figure of Christ's body and blood," or say that his flesh is "not received carnally." But, be that as it may, the innovation of this monk produced the most strenuous opposition from the most learned ecclesiastics of his own and the subsequent age.

Of these opponents of transubstantiation in the ninth century the most important are Raban Maurus, and Bertram or Ratram of Corbey, whose work on the body and blood of Christ has been translated into English.\*

About the year 825, Raban Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, regarded in that age, on account of his learning and piety, the great light of Germany and France, avowed his decided opposition to the new opinions of those who began to teach that there was a complete change of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. He maintained that "the sacramental elements were made of the fruits of the earth, that as he, who is God invisible, appeared visible in our flesh, and mortal to save us mortals, so he might by a thing visible fitly represent to us a thing invisible. Some receive the sacred sign at the Lord's table to their salvation, and some to their ruin; but the thing signified is life to every man, and death to none. Whoever receives it is united to Christ, the head in the kingdom of heaven, for the sacrament is one thing, and the efficacy of it another; for the

\* Besides these, clear testimonies are adduced against transubstantiation from Amalarius (*De Ecclesiast. Officiis*, A.D. 830); from Johannes Erigena, the tutor of Alfred the Great, whose book was condemned 200 years after his death, in the pontificate of Leo IX.; and from Walafrid Strabo (*De Rebus Ecclesiis*, A.D. 860). See also Jeremy Taylor on the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament, section xii., who cites to the same purpose, Suidas, Hesychius, Procopius, the scholiast upon Dionysius, and others.



sacrament is received with the mouth, but the grace thereof feeds the inward man. And as the first is turned into our substance, when we eat it and drink it, so are we made the body of Christ when we live piously and obediently. Therefore the faithful do well and truly receive the body of Christ, if they neglect not to be the body of Christ, and they become the body of Christ, if they are willing to live of the spirit of Christ."\* This illustrious scholar clearly distinguished between the sign and the thing signified, the sacrament and the efficacy of it, the conversion of the fruits of the earth into our bodies as the emblem, and the conversion of our bodies into the members of Christ's body by a believing and obedient life. Well might later writers, as William of Malmesbury (A.D. 1200), condemn his doctrine as erroneous and heretical.

Still more decided is the testimony of Ratram (or Bertram, as he is sometimes called), Abbot of Corbey, who wrote his book in opposition to the opinion of Paschasius, at the request of the Emperor Charles the Bald.† Two questions were proposed by the emperor: Do the faithful in the Church eat the body and blood of Christ in a figure and mystery? Or is that natural body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered, died, and was buried, and now sitteth at the right hand of God, itself received in the mouth of the faithful in the Sacrament? The answers of Ratram show that he denied not only the doctrine of transubstantiation, but even that of the real presence in the corporeal sense. What can be more plain and decided than his statements? "It is evident that bread and wine are figuratively the body and blood of Christ. According to the substance of the elements they

\* Rabanus Maurus de Instit. Cler. lib. i. c. 31, cited in Cosin's History, &c., p. 122.

† De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. Of this work, written A.D. 860, an English translation has been printed at Oxford, 1838. Ratram and Raban, before mentioned, are sometimes mistaken for each other.

are after the consecration what they were before, for the bread is not Christ substantially. If this mystery be not done in a figure, it cannot be called a mystery. The wine also, which is made the sacrament of the blood of Christ by the consecration of the priest, shows one thing by its outward appearance, and combines another inwardly; for what is there visible outwardly, but only the substance of the wine? These things are changed, but not according to the material part, and by this change they are not what they truly appear to be, but are something else besides what is their proper being. For they are made spiritually the body and blood of Christ; not that the elements be two different things, but in one respect they are, as they appear, bread and wine, and in another the body and blood of Christ. Hence, according to the visible creature they feed the body, but according to the virtue of a more excellent substance they nourish and sanctify the souls of the faithful."\* In reply to the second question, he says, "For lately some, not rightly thinking of the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, have said that the very body and blood of the Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which the Lord himself suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb, is the same as that which is received from the altar. Against which error, as far as I have been able, I have expounded what ought to be truly believed concerning his body itself . . . . The body of Christ in which he suffered is one thing, and the blood which was shed for the salvation of the world is one, yet the sacraments of these things have obtained their names, so that they are called the body and blood of Christ, since they are so called on account of their resemblance to the things which they denote." Much more to the same effect may be cited.† With good reason Romish

\* See Appendix A.

† This book of Ratram, on the "Body and Blood of Christ," was first printed at Cologne, in the year 1532. A copy is said to have fallen into the

controversialists have said, that Calvin's heresy is as old as Bertram, whom some have called Calvinior Calvino. This book is inserted in the prohibited list by the fathers of the Council of Trent, although the Douay professors judged that it might be suffered and used, after it was corrected and explained.

In the tenth century the doctrine of transubstantiation prevailed to a considerable extent, although still encountering much opposition on the continent, while in England the Saxon Church was decidedly opposed to it. The letters of Ælfrie the grammarian, addressed to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, and Wulfsin, Bishop of Sherbourn, afford clear evidence of the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Church in the latter part of the tenth century. Of these letters, preserved in the Cathedral Libraries of Worcester and Exeter, a copy was in the possession of Archbishop Parker, under whose patronage they were printed, together with certain homilies of the Saxon Church ascribed to Ælfrie, on Easter, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Decalogue. The book contains not only the original Saxon letters and homilies, but also a Latin version, and an English translation of the reign of Elizabeth, from which I cite a few sentences.\* In the letter to Wulfstan, Ælfrie says, "The Lord which halowed housel before his

hands of Ridley, when he was a parochial clergyman in Kent. By its perusal, he was convinced that transubstantiation was contrary to the ancient doctrine of the church. Residing at Herne, near Canterbury, he communicated with Cranmer, who, applying himself to the study of this work, became satisfied that the Romish doctrine was comparatively of modern invention. This opinion he firmly maintained. "If," said he, to the commissioners at Oxford, "it can be proved by any doctor, above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there (in the Eucharist) really, I will give it over." Soames' *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, vol. ii. ch. 2, pp. 177, 178. Ratram's book, therefore, did great service to the cause of truth near seven hundred years after it was written. By it and its results, he being dead yet speaketh. See Appendix A.

\* The original Saxon may be found in Routh, *Opuscula*, pp. 521—529. See Appendix B.

suffering, and sayeth that the bread was his owne body, and that the wyne was truly his bloud, he haloweth dayly by the handes of the prist bread to his body, and wyne to his bloud in ghostly mystery, as we read in bokes. And yet that liuely bread is not bodely so notwithstanding; not the self same body that Christ suffered in. Nor that holy wine is the Sauour's bloud which was shed for vs in bodely thing, but in ghostly vnderstanding. Both be truly that bread hys body, and that wyne also hys bloud, as was the heauenly bread, which we call Manna, that fed forty yeres Gods people . . . . All our fathers ate in the wildernes the same ghostlye meate, and dranke the same ghostly drinke. They dranke of that gostly stone and that stone was Christ. The apostle hath said, as you now haue heard, that they all did eate the same ghostly meate, and they all did drinke the same ghostly drinke. And he sayth not bodely, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet borne, nor hys bloud shedde, when that the people of Israell ate that meat, and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodelye Christ, though he so sayd. It was the same mistery in the olde law, and they did ghostlye signifie that ghostly housell of our Savioures body which we consecrate now."

In the epistle to Wulfsin, he says, "That housell is Christes bodye, not bodylye, but ghostlye. Not the body which he suffred in, but the bodye of which he speake, when he blessed bread and wyne to housel a night before his suffring, and sayd by the blessed breade, Thys is my bodye, and agayne by the holye wyne, Thys is my bloude whiche is shedd for manye in forgeuenes of sins."

The same doctrine is taught in the Easter homily, as appears from the following extract:—"It (the housell) is naturally corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is by myghte of God's worde truly Christes bodye and hys bloude; not so notwithstanding bodely but ghostly. Much is betwixte the body Christ suffered in, and, the



bodye that is halowed to housell. The body truely that Christ suffered in was borne of the flesh of Mary, with bloud, and with bone, with skinne, and with synowes, in humane limmes, with a reasonable soule living; and his ghostlye body, which we call the housell, is gathered of many cornes: without bloude and bone, without lymme, without soule, and therefore nothing is to be understand therein bodelye, but all is ghostlye to be understande."

We may from these extracts perceive how ancient writers speak of the body of Christ in the sacrament, when they mean only the figure or sign of the body, or a spiritual, not a corporeal, presence of Christ with the elements. "not in bodelye thing, but in ghostlye understanding." That Dr. Lingard should have contended, that these statements of Ælfric are in accordance with the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, may well excite the surprise of all who have read the decision of the Council of Trent: "This holy synod declares, that by the consecration of bread and wine, a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is conveniently and properly called transubstantiation by the holy Catholic Church." (Conc. Trident. sect. xiii. cap. iv. de Eucharistia.) No two things can be more irreconcilably opposed than the Anglo-Saxon and the Tridentine doctrine.

I conclude these brief references to a few of the many ancient testimonies against transubstantiation, with the gloss upon the canon law adduced by Jeremy Taylor, in his Treatise on the Real Presence (section xii.): "The heavenly sacrament, which truly represents the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ, but improperly; therefore it is said, after the manner, to wit, not in the truth of the thing, but in the mystery of that which is signified, so that the meaning is, it is called Christ's body, that is, Christ's body is signified."

The controversy was maintained with various success for two hundred years, until Berenger, Archdeacon of Angers, a man renowned through Europe for his learning and sanctity, strenuously defended the ancient doctrine of the church in opposition to the new opinions which, through the policy of the priesthood and the superstition of the people, were then extensively prevailing in the Western church. This roused the fierce indignation of the Pontiff, Leo IX., who solemnly condemned the doctrine of Berenger, and committed to the flames the book of Scotus, to which he had appealed for the truth of his statements. Berenger, cited before various councils, was induced thrice to recant, and instigated by his sense of duty, he thrice renounced his recantation. At length, harassed by long persecution, he was compelled, in a council held at Rome in the pontificate of Hildebrand, under the threat of the Pope's high displeasure, to sign the declaration, "that the bread and wine, which are placed on the altar, are by the mystery of the holy prayer and words of our Redeemer, substantially converted into the true, and proper, and vivifying flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and after the consecration are the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, and which, offered for the salvation of the world, hung upon the cross, not only by the sign and virtue of a sacrament, but also in the propriety of the nature and truth of the substance." On his return to France, he could not rest until he had prepared an elaborate refutation of the doctrine to which he had been reluctantly compelled to affix his signature, and then, in great trouble of mind, he retired from public life, and prepared for death by spending his declining days in prayer and religious exercises. Some Lutherans contend that he held their doctrine of consubstantiation, but Mosheim candidly acknowledges that his opinions rather corresponded with those of the Calvinists.

After the death of Berenger, the Romish doctrine was

opposed by many in France and England. Whatever were their opinions of the real presence, they believed that "the substance of bread and wine remained in the Eucharist,"\* and that "the flesh of Christ is given to us not corporally but spiritually."† An exposition of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, by Rupert, an abbot of Tuitium, A.D. 1125, is deserving of attention, as being that which I have attributed to some of the fathers: "From which it follows that the bread is the body of Christ, but a body not human, nor of flesh, but of bread."‡

These extracts are quite sufficient to shew that the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, repudiated by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, the Gregorys, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Athanasius, Ambrose, and many other ancient ecclesiastics, with their successors down to Saxon, German, and French writers of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, was not the ancient and catholic doctrine of the Christian church. In opposition to so many testimonies, which can be adduced from every preceding age of the church, and from every section of it, Eastern, Western, Greek, and African, the Council of Trent had the audacity to declare that "Because Christ our Redeemer truly said that was his body which he offered in the appearance of bread, therefore it has always been believed in the church of God, as now this holy synod declares, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood."§

\* Otho, Bishop of Frisingen, A.D. 1145, cited by Cosin, p. 185.

† St. Bernard, *Sermo de Sancto Martino*, A.D. 1120.

‡ *Ex quo sequitur, panem esse corpus Christi, sed corpus non humanum, neque carneum, sed panaceum.* (Bellarmine de Eucharistia, iii. 11.)

§ Conc. Trident. Sess. XIII. c. 4. The earliest authoritative decision in support of Transubstantiation is to be found in the canons of the Lateran

As transubstantiation is one of the latest, so it is one of the worst corruptions of the Romish Church. To no doctrine, however, is that church so unalterably bound by the decrees of its councils, the completeness of its definitions, the unambiguous language of its canons, the unanimity of its authorities, and the uniformity of its practice. In the controversy of the Reformation, it was made the cardinal point—the great test of heresy—for the denial of which many were condemned to death. By this unreasonable, unscriptural, and, I add, unecclesiastical doctrine, its own selected test, let its pretensions to infallibility and absolute authority be judged by an enlightened and thoughtful age.

Dependent on the doctrine of transubstantiation is the practice of the Romish Church, called the Adoration of the Host. As soon as the conversion of the bread into the person of Christ is effected, it is offered for sin, and elevated before the people, as the object of their devout adoration. The adoration of bread, as every Catholic will readily allow, is gross idolatry. If, therefore, the bread be not really transubstantiated, the Romish Church is universally and thoroughly idolatrous. But the Romanist is so confident of the truth of his doctrine, as to have no fear of the idolatry of his practice.

But however confident a Romanist may be in the doctrine of transubstantiation, I see not how he can be free from all danger of idolatry, even on the principles of his own church, in practising the adoration of the host on any particular occasion. To authorize the ascription of Divine honour to the particular object on the altar, he must be satisfied not only of the general doctrine of transub-

Council, A.D. 1215. How far the doctrine was approved by the council itself is uncertain, for Pope Innocent the Third, haughtily allowing no deliberation, and overbearing all opposition, declared, contrary to the will of most present, that transubstantiation should be an article of faith, and delivered over those who denied it to the secular power.



stantiation, but of the actual transubstantiation of that particular piece of bread. *It* must have become the very Christ. But of that fact his own church gives him no positive assurance. Only a priest acting with a good intention can make the body of Christ. Is he quite sure everything was regularly done in ordaining the priest? Is he quite sure of the good intention of the priest in consecrating the elements? Is he quite sure the priest has said the very words, which are to be spoken in a low and reverential voice, so that they are not generally heard by the congregation, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," without which there can be no conversion into the body of Christ? Unless he is quite sure that all things are done rightly, he cannot tell whether in the act of adoration he worships an idol, or the Son of God under the appearance of bread.\* We, however, confidently refer to the argument against transubstantiation, in order to show the idolatry of the Romish practice.

The other great corruption of the Lord's Supper, chargeable upon the Romish church, is the converting of an appropriate commemoration of the sacrificial death of Christ into an actual propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the

\* Jeremy Taylor says, "When certain of the Society of Jesuits were to die by the laws of England in the beginning of King James his reign, it was asked them whether, if they might have leave to say mass, they would to the people standing by, for the confirmation of their doubt, and to convert them, say these words: 'Unless this whole species you see in the chalice be the same blood which did flow out of the side of the crucifix, or of Christ hanging on the cross, let there be no part for me in the blood of Christ, or in Christ himself, to eternal ages,' and so with these words in their mouth yield to death; they all denied it; none of them would take such a sacrament upon them. And when Garnet, that unhappy man, was tempted to the same sense, he answered, that a man might well doubt of the particular; no man was bound to believe that any one priest in particular now, or at any one certain time, does consecrate effectively; but that the bread is transubstantiated some where or other, at some time or other, by some priest or other. 'This I receive from the relation of a wise prelate, a great and good man, whose memory is precious, and is had in honour.'" Real Presence, &c., Sect. xiii. 3. Yet these Jesuits undoubtedly observed the adoration of the host.

living and the dead. It has been already shown in a preceding Lecture, that such a representation is directly opposed to the Christian doctrine of the sufficiency of Christ's one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the world. That the Eucharist is a sacrifice for the sins of the dead is a doctrine as unsupported by any early testimonies of the Christian church, as it is by the writers of the New Testament. But ecclesiastical history, although it affords no countenance to the doctrine, illustrates the rise and growth of the superstition. The masses for the dead arose, as we believe, from the festivals which were observed in honour of the martyrs. In commemoration of their sufferings and fidelity, religious solemnities were observed on the anniversaries of their death, often called their birthdays; the accounts of their acts and martyrdom were read near their graves; their praises were celebrated, to encourage the fidelity of others, and the Eucharist was often administered to their friends assembled on the occasion. Such solemnities in honour of the departed gave rise to the performance of masses at their tombs: and these again to the offering of the sacramental elements as a propitiatory sacrifice for their benefit.

We have already seen that the Eucharist is not a propitiatory sacrifice, either for the living or the dead. Antiquity is adduced in support of the Romish doctrine; let us briefly notice its testimony. It is undeniable, that early ecclesiastical writers often speak of the Eucharist as an oblation, and even as a sacrifice; but it ought to be observed, that the oblation was originally represented as made by the people, not by the officiating priest; and consisted, not of a consecrated host, but of their voluntary offerings for the use of the church, in which were included the bread and wine for the Lord's Supper. But such voluntary offerings of bread and wine by the people, although placed upon the altar by the hands of the priest, are very different from a true propitiatory sacrifice offered by the priest for the sins

of the people. Again, a slight acquaintance with Christian antiquity is sufficient to shew, that all acts of religious worship and service were, by the early fathers, frequently called oblations and sacrifices. These and other sacrificial terms, at first used figuratively, became more literal in their application to the offering of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, in proportion as those who used them receded from the apostolic age and primitive purity of the church. A few references to their writings are sufficient to illustrate these statements.

Justin Martyr, it is conceded, speaks of the Eucharist as an offering and a sacrifice. In the dialogue with Trypho he says: "Concerning the sacrifices which are offered by us Gentiles in every place, that is, the bread of the Eucharist." But what does he mean by offering for a sacrifice the bread of the Eucharist? The detailed account, which has been already cited from his "Apology," affords the best exposition of these words. He there tells us, that "When the bread, and a cup of wine and water have been brought to the president, he offers, with a loud voice, praise and thanksgiving to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and Spirit, and offers up thanksgiving at length for the gifts received from him." In this account, praise and thanksgiving were the oblations, but no one on that account considers them to have been propitiatory offerings for sin.

If it be objected, that the word "oblation" (*προσφορά*) is not so strong and decided as "sacrifice" (*θυσία*), applied to the bread and wine, I reply, that he expressly calls prayers and thanksgivings sacrifices (*θυσίαι*); and that, too, in connexion with the sacramental service. "That prayers and thanksgivings offered by the worthy, are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices (*θυσίαι*), I myself affirm. For these only, Christians have received a command to offer, at the commemoration of their dry and wet food (bread and wine), in which they commemorate the sufferings that the Son of

God endured for them.”\* Can there be any doubt respecting the signification which Justin assigned to the term *sacrifices*, when he used it in connexion with the eucharistic service?

Irenæus employed the same terms, “oblation” and “sacrifice,” and apparently with the same meaning as Justin had employed them before him.† Tertullian, also, calls the Eucharist a sacrifice; but so he designates other acts of religious worship, and means of conciliating the favour of God, as fasting, prayers, praises, and bodily austerities.‡ Nor is such an application of the word destitute of scriptural authority. “By him therefore let us *offer the sacrifice* of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name. But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.” (Heb. xiii. 15, 16.) “Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, *to offer up spiritual sacrifices*, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.” (1 Pet. ii. 5.)

Cyprian calls the act of celebrating the Lord's Supper “sacrificing;” but he also calls the voluntary offerings made by the communicants on the occasion of that service, “the sacrifices.” “Think you that you celebrate the Lord's Supper, who entirely neglect the offering, who come into the Lord's house without a sacrifice, and take part of that sacrifice which the poor have offered.” (Tract. x. 12.) Such offerings of the people were continued until much later times.

In Palmer's *Antiquities* (iv. 8), we have an account of

\* Dial. c. Tryph. c. 117.

† Fragment in Append. Oper. vol. ii. p. 65.

‡ Nam et sacrificia deo grata, conflictationes dico animæ, jejunia, et seras et aridas escas, et adpendices hujus officii sordes. De Resurrectione Carnis. c. viii. Many other instances may be adduced, In Cyprian, the common expression, *oblationem alicujus accipere*, denotes to receive the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper from any one who brought them. They were the oblations of the people, not of the priest.



the vestiges of these ancient offerings of the people in the church of Milan. He says, "These oblations were of various sorts. Some offered money, vestments, and other precious gifts, and all, it appears, offered bread and wine, from which the elements of the sacrament were taken. . . . Oblations are now in general never made by the laity in the Roman Liturgy; yet, in some remote parts, the country people, according to Bona, still continue the practice. In the church of Milan, which has retained its peculiar rites for a long series of years, and which did not receive the alterations made in the Roman Liturgy by Gregory the Great, the ancient custom of offering bread and wine is still in some degree preserved. At the proper time, the officiating priest, accompanied by his assistants, and preceded by two attendants, with silver vessels to receive the oblations, descends from the altar to the entrance of the presbytery, where two old men of the school of St. Ambrose, attended by their brethren, offer three cakes and a silver vessel full of wine. The priest and his attendants then descend into the choir, where they receive the same sort of oblations from the women." The gifts thus presented by the people for the service of the church, and especially for the Eucharist, were called oblations and sacrifices.

But the sacrificial terms which we have cited, were subsequently made to assume a more literal and unevangelical signification. The table of the Lord became an altar for his body; the consecrated bread received the name of the host or victim; the priest offered for the people, instead of receiving the offerings from them. As early as the fourth century, the host was elevated before the people as an object of peculiar sanctity; and in the course of the dark ages, the adoration of the host succeeded its elevation. Pompous ceremonies were added; processions were formed in honour of the blessed sacrament; hymns were chanted to the body of God thus exhibited; the offices of the priest

were deemed indispensable; in the estimation of the people, he offered a propitiatory sacrifice of infinite value for their sins, of which full confession was required, and the cup of Christ's own blood was deemed too sacred for the use of the common people. Eventually, but as we have seen after several centuries and much opposition, the blasphemy or absurdity (I know not which to call it) of transubstantiation was pronounced, by the highest authorities of the Catholic church, with the utmost solemnity, to be an essential article of the creed of the faithful, without the belief of which no man can attain to salvation, or at least, can have any right to be confident of his salvation.

In concluding this course of Lectures on the Sacraments we cannot but feel many grave and sorrowful impressions. How little of ceremony belongs to the religion of Jesus Christ! How much his professed disciples have made from that little by their additions, perversions, and substitutions! The history of the Christian sacraments is a pitiable history of superstition on one hand, and of self-seeking on the other. The simple but significant emblems of sacred truths have been made by ambitious churchmen the principal means of promoting their own selfish objects. By the perversion of these sacred signs, they have invested their office with a mysterious sanctity, and made themselves indispensable to the salvation of the people. The gospel has been corrupted from a simple announcement of the glad tidings of the pardon of sin through faith in Christ, into a magical operation for the salvation of men. The sacraments are only signs of Christian truth, as we believe they will appear to any who will candidly and patiently consider the representations which are given of them in the sacred writings. Baptism, as we have traced it in its origin, was only a recognition on the part of a Christian teacher of a disciple or learner brought under religious instruction, by a form which re-

presented the purifying virtue of the truth in which he was to be instructed. The Lord's Supper was a commemoration by the baptized of the death of Christ, observed on their admission into the fellowship of the church. But we have seen Baptism removed from its place as an appropriate registration of the learners of Christian doctrine, and made a seal of the covenant, an attestation of the conversion of the baptized conferred by the administrator, an indispensable means of regeneration and pardon, and a sure admission into the kingdom of heaven. So the Lord's Supper has been represented as the sustenance of the divine life in the soul, a pledge and earnest of heavenly bliss, an element of immortality imparted to the recipient, a vital principle insuring the resurrection of the body, a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ propitiatory for the sins of the living and the dead, a viaticum for the passage of death, a requiem for the souls of the faithful, and a deliverance from purgatorial tortures.

What, we may well ask, is the spirit of these grievous corruptions? With what intent were they introduced into the simple worship of the Christian church? Too obviously, they were intended to elevate a priesthood in Christ's church above the equality of the Christian brotherhood; to invest it with the awful solemnities and terrors of the world to come; to substitute its offices for the mediation of the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. The consequences of so great a profanation of sacred things are too manifest in the history and present state of the professedly Christian church. An ambitious and arrogant priesthood has become the lord of God's heritage. Its spirit, pernicious always, is never so pernicious as when it operates in the church by means of the sacraments. Emblems of truth are more readily perverted than verbal representations. Signs, however impressive, are not so distinct as words spoken or written. Nor is a perversion of a ceremony so easily corrected as a

misrepresentation of a text, to the plain letter of which an appeal can readily be made. Sacraments once perverted become means of investing the administrators with an undue and mysterious importance. Their acts become usurpations of the mediatorial prerogative of Christ. Let us, in the fear of these consequences, resist every attempt to make the positive institutions of Christ subservient to the authority or the influence of any church officers whatever. Let us beware of the beginning of this evil, however apparently harmless may be the form which it may assume; as of conferring or refusing Baptism according to the judgment of a single teacher or pastor, as if he had the authority of giving a certificate of faith instead of making a register of learners; or of admitting to the Lord's Supper, and excluding from it, at the will of the pastor, without the concurrence of the brethren assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus. Guarding against the small beginnings of unscriptural assumption, we shall be secure against the greater corruptions of Christian ordinances. Let us "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made his people free, and not be brought again under the yoke of bondage," whether it be imposed by a priesthood professing to mediate for us with God, or a clergy pretending to discharge high and holy functions which the people must not undertake, or even of a pastorate presuming to decide who are, or are not, proper subjects of Christian baptism. Christian ministers are the servants of the church for Christ's sake. As teachers, they may forbid no man to become their disciple, for their commission is to "disciple all nations, baptizing and teaching them." As pastors they may, at their own will, neither receive any to the Lord's Supper, nor exclude any from it, for they must act upon the suffrages of the brethren, and their acts are ministerial, not authoritative. These first principles being secure, there is little danger of the rise



in our churches of any greater corruptions of the sacraments, like those against which we, as Protestants and Protestant Dissenters, have to bear a decided and consistent testimony, by maintaining inviolate the supreme authority of Christ as the only Head in heaven, and on earth too, of the Christian church. "For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King: He will save us."

## APPENDIX TO LECTURE XIII.

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### A. PAGE 380.

#### THE TESTIMONY OF RATRAM OF CORBEY, AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION

THE book of Ratram, the letters of Raban Maurus, and the fragments of Ælfric, not only contain the same view of the Eucharist, but illustrate it in very much the same manner. Their argument is precisely that of many of the fathers, and is little else than an expansion of the words of Augustine:—"We also to-day receive visible food; but the sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of a sacrament another. How many receive from the altar, and die by receiving! Whence the apostle says, 'He eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.' Was not the Lord's sop poison to Judas? And yet he received it; and, when he received it, the enemy entered into him, not because he received an evil thing, but because he, being evil, evilly received what was good. See, therefore, brother, that to eat spiritually of the heavenly bread, you bring innocence to the altar. 'Your fathers did eat manna and are dead,' not because the manna was evil, but because they evilly eat it . . . . 'This is the bread which came down from heaven.' The manna signified this bread. These were sacraments. In their signs they were different; but in the thing which was signified, they were equal. Hear the apostle: 'I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and all did eat the same spiritual food;' doubtless the *same spiritual food*; for they did eat different corporeal food, because *they* did eat manna; we, another thing. But they ate the same spiritual food as we. But these are *our* fathers, not *theirs*; to whom we are like, not they.' And he adds, 'They all drank the same

spiritual drink.' One thing *they* drank; another thing *we*. But this was in visible kind, which, however, signified the same thing in spiritual virtue. How, then, the same drink? 'They drank of that spiritual rock, and that rock was Christ.' Hence the bread, hence the drink. The rock was Christ, *i. e.* in sign. The true Christ is in the Word and the flesh. 'This, therefore, is the bread which came down from heaven, that if any one eat of it, he shall not die.' But that is so far as pertains to the virtue of the sacrament, not to the visible sacrament. He who feeds inwardly, not outwardly; who feeds in his heart, not who presses with his teeth, shall not die.' —*Augustin in Evan. Johan.*, Tract xxvi.

In exact accordance with this illustration, Ratram says:—"The apostle, writing to the Corinthians, saith:—'Know ye not, that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.' We observe that the sea and the cloud bore the likeness of baptism, and that the fathers of the Old Testament were baptized in them: that is, in the cloud and in the sea. Could, then, the sea, in respect of what it was to outward sight—an element—have the power of baptism? Or could the cloud, in respect of what it was to outward sight—a condensation of thick air, have power to sanctify the people? Yet we dare not say that the apostle, who spake in Christ, did not with truth affirm that our fathers were baptized in the cloud and in the sea; and though that baptism bore not the form of the baptism of Christ which at this day is performed in the church, yet no sane person will dare to deny that of a truth it was baptism, and that in it our fathers were baptized, unless he madly presume to contradict the words of the apostle. Wherefore, both the sea and the cloud conveyed the cleansing of sanctification, not in respect of their bodily substance, but in respect of that which they inwardly contained, the sanctification of the Holy Ghost; for in them there was both a visible form, apparent to the bodily senses, not in image, but in truth; and also a spiritual power, which shone forth within, discernible, not by the eye of the flesh, but of the soul.

"In like sort, the manna which was given to the people from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, had a corporeal existence, and were meat and drink for the bodies of the people; yet the apostle calleth that manna and that water, *spiritual meat* and *spiritual drink*. How so? Because, in those corporeal substances,

the spiritual power of the Word was contained, which was meat and drink to the souls, rather than to the bodies of believers; and although that meat and that drink foreshowed the mystery of the body and blood of Christ who was to come, which the church now celebrates, yet St. Paul affirmeth, that our fathers did eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink. Perchance you ask, what same? The very same which at this day the company of the faithful eateth and drinketh in the church; for we may not think them diverse, since one and the same Christ gave his own flesh for food, and his own blood for drink to that people, who in the desert were baptized in the cloud and in the sea, and now, in the church, feedeth the congregation of the faithful with the bread of his body, and giveth them to drink of the stream of his blood.

“The apostle, intending to intimate thus much, after saying our fathers ate the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink, immediately addeth, ‘For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ;’ to the end we might understand that in the wilderness the same Christ was in the spiritual rock, and gave the stream of his blood to the people, who afterward, in our age, exhibited his body taken of the Virgin, and hanged upon the cross for the salvation of believers, and who shed from it the stream of his blood, to the end that we might not only be redeemed by it, but also have it for our drink.

“In very deed, this is wonderful, since we cannot comprehend its depth, nor weigh its value. He had not as yet assumed man’s nature; he had not as yet tasted death for the salvation of the world; he had not as yet redeemed us with his blood; and still our fathers in the desert, by means of that spiritual meat and that invisible drink, did eat his body and drink his blood, as the apostle testifieth when he saith, ‘Our fathers ate the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink.’ Here we must not inquire how that could be done, but we must believe that it was done; for he who now in the church, by his almighty power spiritually changeth bread and wine into the flesh of his body and the stream of his own blood, at that time also wrought invisibly, so that the manna which was given from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, became his body and his blood.

“This David understood, and testified in the Holy Ghost, saying, ‘Man did eat angels’ food;’ for it were a fond thing to suppose that the corporeal manna which was given to the fathers feedeth the host of heaven, or that they use such diet who are satisfied with the feast of the Divine Word. Of a truth the Psalmist, or rather the



Holy Ghost speaking in the Psalmist, teacheth us both what our fathers received in that heavenly manna, and what the faithful ought to receive in the mystery of Christ's body. In either surely is Christ signified, who feedeth the souls of believers, and who is angels' food. This, too, he doth and is, not by bodily taste, nor becoming bodily food, but by the power of the spiritual Word.

"We know also, on the testimony of the evangelist, that our Lord Jesus, before he suffered, 'took bread, and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to his disciples, saying, This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.' We see that, although Christ had not yet suffered, he still, even then, wrought the mystery of his body and blood; for sure I am no believer doubteth that the bread which he gave to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body, which is given for you,' was made the body of Christ; or that the cup, of which he said, 'This cup is the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you,' contained the blood of Christ. As, then, a little before his passion, he was able to change the substance of bread and the creature of wine into his own body, which was to suffer, and into his blood, which was afterwards to be shed, so, too, in the desert he had power to change the manna and the water from the rock into his own flesh and blood, though long time was to pass ere that flesh was to hang on the cross for us, or that blood to be shed for our cleansing.

"Here, too, we must consider how his words are to be taken: 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you.' He doth not say that his flesh, which hung on the cross, should be cut in pieces and eaten by his disciples, or that his blood, which he was to shed for the redemption of the world, should be given to his disciples to drink. It had been a horrible crime for his disciples to drink his blood or to eat his flesh, as the unbelieving Jews then understood him. Wherefore, in the words following, he saith to his disciples, who received his words not in unbelief, but in faith, though they did not fully see how those words were to be understood, 'Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?' As though he said, 'Think not that my flesh is to be corporally eaten, or my blood corporally drunk by you—that it is divided, or to be hereafter divided into parts; for after my resurrection ye shall see me ascend into heaven with the fulness of my entire body and blood. Then shall ye understand, not that my flesh, as the faithless imagine,

is to be eaten by believers, but that bread and wine, truly yet sacramentally changed into the substance of my body and blood, are to be taken by them.' And immediately he addeth, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing.' He saith that the flesh profiteth nothing, as those unbelievers understood it; but otherwise it giveth life, as it is mystically received by the faithful. And why so? He himself declareth, saying, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth.' Wherefore, in this mystery of the body and blood, it is the spiritual working that giveth life, without which working, these mysteries avail nothing. They may feed the body, but cannot feed the soul.

"St. Augustin saith, that 'sacraments are one thing, and the things of which they are sacraments, another;' for the body in which Christ suffered, and the blood which flowed from his side, are the things themselves; whilst the mysteries of these things are the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which are celebrated in memory of the Lord's passion, not only during the whole paschal solemnity in every year, but also every day throughout the year. And although the body of Christ, in which he suffered, is one, and his blood, which was shed for the salvation of the world, is one, yet the sacraments of these things have assumed the names of the things themselves, so as to be called 'the body and blood of Christ,' and this from their likeness to the things which they shadow forth. Even as the passion and the resurrection, which are celebrated every year, are so called, though he suffered and rose again in his own person but once; nor can those days now be recalled, since they have passed away: yet the days on which the passion or resurrection of the Lord is commemorated are so called, in that they have a resemblance to those days on which the Saviour once suffered and rose again.

"It is not false to say that in those mysteries the Lord is sacrificed or suffers, since they have a likeness to that death and passion, the representations of which they are. Whence they are styled, 'The Lord's Body and the Lord's blood;' for they take the name of those things of which they are the sacraments."

The original Latin of these extracts may be found in Faber's "Doctrine of Transubstantiation;" and from him I have taken the selections from the English translation of the Oxford edition, which he professes to have followed.

## B. PAGE 381.

THE LETTERS OF ÆLFRIC, AND LATER TESTIMONIES AGAINST  
TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Of the letter of Ælfric, Abbot of St. Albans and also of Malmesbury, and therefore an ecclesiastic of considerable importance and consideration in his time, addressed to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, two copies, or rather fragments have been preserved, one in the cathedral library of Worcester, the other in that of Exeter.

Of the copy in the library at Worcester, Fox, the martyrologist, says, "So much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter, nor piece of a letter, doth there appear." The copy found at Exeter, being unmutilated in this place, enabled Archbishop Parker, into whose possession it came, and under whose auspices the fragments of Ælfric were printed, to supply the deficiency, which is thus noticed:—"The words inclosed betweene the two halfe circles, some had rased out of Worceter booke, but they are restored agayne out of a booke of Exeter church."

The book printed under the auspices of Parker was entitled, "A Testimonie of Antiquity, shewing the auncient fayth in the church of England, touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord, here publicly preached, and also received in the Saxons tyme, above 600 years agoe. Inprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate beneath St. Martyn's." It contains also the fragment of a letter, addressed to Wulfsin, Bishop of Sherbourn, which is thus noticed:—"Here followeth the wordes of Elfrike Abböt of S. Albons and also of Malmesberye, taken out of his epistle written to Wulfsine, byshop of Seyrburne. It is founde in a booke of the olde Saxon tounge, and this epistle is also in a canon boke of the Church of Exeter."

To this book is appended the following attestation:—"That this foresayd Saxon Homely, with the other testimonies before allecaded, doe fully agree to the olde auncient bookes (whereof some bee written in the olde Saxon and some in the Lattyne) from whence they are taken; these here under written, upon diligent perusing and comparing the same, have found by conference that they are truely put forth in print without any adding or withdrawing any thing for the more faithful reporting of the same, and therefore for the better credite hereof have subscribed their names. Matthewe

Archbyshop of Canterburye; Thomas, Archbyshop of Yorke (thirteen other bishops), with divers other personages of honour and credite subscribing their names, the recorde whereof remaines in the handes of the most reverend father Matthewe Archbishop of Canterburye."

These fragments were found in Latin and Saxon, and are printed in both languages in the aforesaid "Testimonie of Antiquity." They may be seen in Routh. *Opuscula*, vol. ii. pp. 519—529. It may interest the reader to have the whole of these fragments before him, as it will enable him to observe the connexion of the more important extracts which I have given in the lecture. The old version which I have preferred to give, as most nearly corresponding with the original Saxon, was made in the reign of Elizabeth, and printed in the above "Testimonie," in 1567. For more extended information, the reader is referred to Soames' Bampton Lectures, pp. 421—441.

From the epistle of Ælfrie to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, written in Saxon, translated into English in the reign of Elizabeth, and into Latin by Abraham Whalock:—"Some priests fil their boxe for housel on Easter day, and so reserve it a whole yere for sicke men, as though that housel were more holy then any other. But they do vnaduisedlye, bicause it waxeth hory, or al together rotten by keping it so long space. And thus is he become giltie as the boke wytneseth to vs. Yf anye do keepe the housell to long, or lose it, or myse, or other beasts do eate it, see what the pœnitential boke sayeth by this. So holy is altogether that housell, which is hallowed to daye, as that which is hallowed on Easter day. Wherefore I besech you to kepe that holy bodye of Christ with more aduisement for sick men from sonday to sondaye in a verye cleane boxe: or at the most not to kepe it aboue a fortnight, and then eate it laying other in the place. We haue an example hereof in Moyses bookes, as God him selfe hath commaunded in Moyses lawe. How the priestes should set on euery saturday twelfe loues al newe baked upon the tabernacle: the whyche were called *panes propositionis*: and those should stand their on Gods tabernacle, til the next saturday, and then did the pristres them selues eate them, and set other in the place. Some priestes will not eate the housell, which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the boke speaketh by them. *Presbyter missam celebrans, et non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia sua, anathema est.* The priste that doth saye masse and dare not eat the housell, hys conscience accusynge hym, is accursed. It is less daunger to receyue the housell, than to hallowe it. He that doth twyse hallowe one host to housell, is lyke



unto those heretikes, who do christen twyse one childe. Christ him selfe blessed housel before his suffring: he blessed the bread and brake thus speaking to his apostels: 'Eate this bread it is my body.' And agayne he blessed one chalice with wyne and thus also speaketh vnto them: 'Drinke ye all of this it is myne owne blood of the newe testament which is shed for many in forgeuenes of synnes.' The Lord which halowed housel before his suffering and sayeth that the bread was his owne body and that the wyne was truly his blood, he haloweth dayly by the handes of the prist bread to his body, and wyne to his blood in ghostly mystery, as we read in bokes. And yet that liuely bread is not bodely so notwithstanding: not the self same body that Christ suffered in, nor that holy wine is the Sauours blood which was shed for vs in bodely thing: but in ghostly vnderstanding. Both be truly that bread hys body, and that wyne also hys blood, as was the heauenly bread, which we call Manna, that fed forty yeres God's people. And the cleare water which did then runne from the stone in the wildernes, was truly his blood, as Paul wrote one summe of his epistles. *Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducauerunt et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt*, &c. All our fathers ate in the wildernes the same ghostlye meate, and dranke the same ghostly drinke. They drank of that gostly stone, and that stone was Christ. The apostle hath said as you now haue heard, that they all did eate the same ghostly meate, and they all did drinke the same ghostly drinke. And he sayth not bodely, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet borne, nor hys blood shedde, when that the people of Israell ate that meat, and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodely Christ though he so sayd. It was the same mistery in the olde law, and they did ghostlye signifie that ghostly housell of our Sauiores body which we consecrate now."

Fragment from the epistle of Ælfric to Wulfsin, Bishop of Sherbourn:—"Some pristes keepe the housell that is consecrate on Easter day all the yere for syke men. But they do greatlye amysse, bycause it waxeth horye. And these wyll not vnderstand how greuous penaunce the pœnitentiall booke teacheth by thys; if the housell become horye or rotten: or yf it be lost: or be eaten of myse or of beastes by neglygence, men shall reserue more carefullye that holy housell, and not reserue it to longe, but consecrate other of newe for sycke-men alwayes wythin a weke or a fortnight that it be not somuch as horye. For so holy is the housell which to day is hallowed as that whyche on Easter daye was hallowed. That housell is Christes bodye, not bodylye, but ghostlye. Not the body

which he suffered in, but the bodye of which he speake, when he blessed bread and wyne to housel a night before his suffering, and sayd by the blessed breade thys is my bodye, and agayne by the holye wyne thys is my bloude, whiche is shedd for manye in fer-geuenes of sinnes. Vnderstand nowe that the Lord, who could turne that bread before his suffering to his body, and that wyne to his bloude ghostlye: that the selfe same Lorde blesseth dayly, throughe the priestes handes bread and wine to his ghostly body, and to his ghostly bloud."

Even so late as the twelfth century, testimonies against transubstantiation may be adduced, from writers who are held in the highest esteem by Catholics, and honoured as eminent saints by their church. Thus, in 1120, St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, wrote \*—

"Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum sive sacrum secretum. Multa siquidem fiunt propter se tantum; alia vero propter alia designanda, et ipsa dicuntur signa, et sunt. Ut enim de usualibus sumamus exemplum: datur anulus absolute propter anulum, et nulla est significatio: datur ad investiendum de hæreditate aliqua, et signum est, ita ut jam dicere possit qui accipit: *Anulus* non valet quicquam, sed hæreditas est quam querebam. In hunc itaque modum appropinquans passioni Dominus, de gratia sua investire curavit suos, ut invisibilis gratia signo aliquo visibili præstaretur. Ad hoc instituta sunt omnia sacramenta, ad hoc eucharistiæ participatio."

"A sacred sign, or sacred mystery, is called a sacrament. Many things, indeed, are done on their own account; but other things are done for the sake of designating something else, and these are called signs, and are so. To take an example from common usage, a ring is given absolutely as a ring, and it has no significance, or it is given to invest with an inheritance, and then it is a sign, so that he who receives it can say, 'The ring is of no great value; but there is the inheritance which I require.' In this manner, therefore, our Lord, approaching his passion, took care to invest his disciples with his grace, that the invisible grace might be bestowed with some visible sign. To this end all sacraments are instituted, and the participation of the Eucharist."

These authorities are quite sufficient to prove, that the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation is comparatively of modern origin, and cannot, with any show of reason, be supported by appeal to Catholic antiquity. They afford incontrovertible evidence of the conclusion to which Bishop Cosin arrives, in reviewing his history

\* Sermo de Cena Domini. Opera, p. 880. Ed. 1639.

of transubstantiation. "By these, any considering person may easily see that transubstantiation is a mere novelty, not warranted either by Scripture or antiquity; invented about the middle of the twelfth century" (I should say somewhat earlier), "out of some misunderstood sayings of some of the fathers; confirmed by no ecclesiastic or papal decree before the year 1215; afterwards received only here and there in the Roman Church; debated in the schools by many disputes; liable to many very bad consequences; rejected (for there were never those wanting that opposed it) by many great and pious men, until it was maintained in the sacrilegious Council of Constance; and at last, in the year 1551, confirmed in the Council of Trent by a few Latin bishops, slaves to the Roman See; imposed upon all, under pain of an anathema to be feared by none; and so spread too far, by the tyrannical and most unjust command of the Pope. So that we have no reason to embrace it, until it shall be demonstrated that, except the substance of the bread be changed into the very body of Christ, his words cannot possibly be true, nor his body present, which will never be done."

In conclusion, we may advert to the variable forms in which even the doctrine of transubstantiation has been proposed by the highest Roman authorities, who have professed to hold the only uniform doctrine of the Eucharist, in opposition to the varieties of opinion by which heretics are shown to confute one another. Transubstantiation, even as expounded by popes and councils, has not been invariably the one Catholic doctrine, as may be shown by reference to the Berengarian controversy, which has been briefly noticed in the Lecture.

When Berenger, before the Lateran Council, consisting of one hundred and thirteen bishops, and a great number of abbots, priests, and deacons, assembled under Pope Nicholas II., who presided in person, offered to subscribe whatever confession the holy council should think proper to dictate, the form prescribed by that council, under such auspices, which surely every good Catholic must regard as orthodox and infallible, was as follows:—

"I, Berengarius, unworthy deacon of the church of St. Maurice, of Angers, knowing the true Catholic and Apostolic faith, do anathematize all heresies, especially that of which I have been accused, that the bread and wine placed upon the altar after the consecration, are only a sacrament, and not the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and cannot, save only in the sign, be handled or broken by the priests' hands, or be ground by the teeth of the faithful. But I agree with the holy Roman Church and the Apos-

tolie See, and do with my mouth, and from my heart, profess, that I hold the same faith concerning the sacrament of the Lord's table, which our lord the venerable Pope Nicholas and this holy Synod, by evangelical authority has delivered me to hold, and confirmed to me, that the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which are sensibly, not only as a sacrament, but verily, and in truth, handled and broken by the priests' hands, and ground by the teeth of the faithful. This I swear, by the holy and consubstantial Trinity, and by the holy gospels, declaring those who shall oppose this faith, as well as their followers, worthy of an eternal anathema; and if I myself shall dare to hold, or to teach anything repugnant to this faith, I will readily submit to the rigour of the canons. I have voluntarily signed this writing after it was twice read over to me." \*

Copies of this recantation were sent by the Pope to the several countries in which the doctrine of Berenger had been promulgated.

This declaration, prepared by a council, solemnly signed in its presence, and ratified by the presiding Pope, is, according to the expositions of the highest Romish authorities, decidedly false and heretical. It declares that the body and blood of Christ are, "verily and in truth, handled and broken by the priests' hands, and ground with the teeth of the faithful." But the later Romish doctrine is, that only the species or accidents of the bread, which remain after the substance of the bread is changed, are broken by the priest and ground by the teeth of the communicants. Thus, the author of the "Gloss upon the Canon Law" says, "Unless you understand the words of Berenger in a sound sense, you will fall into a greater heresy than he was guilty of; and therefore you must refer all to the species." And later authorities appeal to Peter Lombard, who says, that Christ's body and blood, though truly present, are handled and broken, only in sacrament or visible species.

But we have, in this controversy, a still more remarkable illustration of papal infallibility, and of the unchangeable doctrine of the Catholic Church. While, on the other hand, a council, under the presidency of one pope, has declared that "the body and blood are not only in sacrament, but verily and in truth handled and broken by the priests' hands, and ground by the teeth of the faithful;" and, on the other, the highest Catholic authorities have, in writings sanctioned by other popes, as unequivocally declared that his body and blood are handled and broken only "in sacrament and visible

\* See Bower's History of the Popes, vol. v. p. 215.



species," or accidents of bread ; no less a person than Pope Hildebrand himself has declared that, in this matter, we ought to adhere to the words of Scripture, and suppress all positive decisions concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament. And, if his Holiness is to be believed, he was supported in his decision against both parties by the blessed Virgin Mary herself. In a letter, which he addressed to Berenger, he says that he consulted the blessed Virgin upon the subject, and he gives her answer in the following words :—*A. B. Maria audivit, et ad me retulit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod tenerent authenticæ scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat.* It is doubtful, whether the Pope did not here adduce the authority of the Virgin Mary against transubstantiation itself, of which doctrine Hildebrand seems to have been no advocate. But at all events, she is cited as a witness on behalf of the sufficiency of Scripture in the matter of the sacrament, and the folly of those definitions of the real presence which, however contradictory, have been defended at different times by the highest authorities of the Catholic Church. On this subject, see Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, Cent. xi. p. ii. ch. 3, note z.



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